New Republic

AUGUST 16, 1948

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARIES
AUG 12 1948

THE SPY TRIALS

EDITORIAL: SEE PAGE 6

INFLATION: CONGRESS SURRENDERS

SEE PAGE 5

NEW HOPE FOR CANCER VICTIMS

SEE PAGE 13

15¢

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHO IS THE SMILING MAN?

CLUES

1.
His children's education is as good as paid for.

2.
He's moving into his dream house in 1958.

3.
He's going to get $4 back for every $3 he invests today, after 10 years.

4.
He's helping his country and himself, at one and the same time.

ANSWER: The Smiling Man is the man who invests regularly in U. S. Savings Bonds. What he has done—actually—is to guarantee his own future, to insure the security and happiness of his family.

Every Savings Bond you buy will stretch your smile a little further. They're the wisest investment you can make, today—they pay you back $4 for $3 after ten years, and that's a promise by Uncle Sam!

What's more, every dollar you invest in Savings Bonds is helping to fight inflation over here, helping to maintain democracy over there.

If you draw a salary, enroll in the easy, painless, *automatic* Payroll Savings Plan.

Or, if you aren't on a payroll but have a checking account, use the equally convenient Bond-A-Month Plan.

Inquire today about these sure, profitable savings plans. *And watch your smile grow along with your savings!*

AUTOMATIC SAVING IS SURE SAVING—U.S. SAVINGS BONDS

Contributed by this magazine in co-operation with the Magazine Publishers of America as a public service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: W. D. Patterson

CONTENTS FOR AUGUST 16, 1948

5 The Week:
5 Special Session
6 Editorial
8 AFL Convention
8 Ed Crump Beaten
9 Midwest Liberals Win
11 British Emigration
13 New Cancer Treatments
17 Inside Russia's Germany III
21 Books
25 Theatre
27 Radio
29 Movies
30 Correspondence
31 Bandwagon

ARTICLES: Norman Grieser (Chief), Joseph Lyford, Thomas Whiteside, Myriam Wilson

STAFF CONTRIBUTORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Robin Kinkead, Ralph G. Martin, Claire Neikind, James R. Newman, Richard Watts Jr.

WASHINGTON BUREAU: William Walton (Chief) Jean Begeman, Jan Hasbrouck, Helen Fuller (Political Editor)

DEPARTMENTS: Robert L. Hatch (Chief), George Mayberry (Books), Harold Wolff (Business) Angus McDonald (Farm), Eva Putnam (Foreign Press), Willard Shelton (Labor), Charles Miller and Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio), Harold Clurman (Theater), Jane Bedell (United Nations)

ART: James Grunbaum (Chief), Josephine Murray

COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov

RESEARCH: Elizabeth L. Gardner, Barbara Greenfeld, Vasiliki Sarant

ADVERTISING MANAGER: E. G. Wood

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Eric Shumway

LIBRARY: Patricia Kuhnel (Chief), Fannie B. Sibley

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1948, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y. UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. Printed in the U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

THE MASON-DIXON LINE separates the you-alls from the youse-guys, and the Senate filibuster separates the South from the rest of the nation. The Senate acknowledged last week that it isn't strong enough to enact, over a filibuster, a civil-rights law which both parties pledged in their platform. Good government took a licking.

The American government isn't strong enough to deal with another issue: inflation. Truman put the GOP Congress on the spot and it bears the immediate odium for what happened. But basically the thing goes much deeper than that.

Anti-inflation legislation requires strong government. The Founding Fathers purposely made American government weak, at least in peacetime. That is why we now face the possibility of an economic crash.

Economics has come a long way since 1929. Causes and remedies of inflation are known. But preventive legislation annoys the joy-riders: How do you know the horse is going to be stolen? Everybody sees the danger; everybody knows something should be done, even the 80th Congress, a rather ominous sign in itself. But nobody cared to take responsibility.

A dictatorship can meet inflation; Soviet Russia did when it revalued the ruble. So can a strong parliamentary system like the British or Scandinavian, with disciplined parties, and responsibility focused like a spotlight. The American government is not like that. Responsibility is divided between the White House and Congress; it is further split in Congress between rival chambers, and finally diffused among satrap committees where chairmanships go by seniority and senility.

Another 1929 crash will do half the Communists' work for them. Looking back it may seem that the summer of 1948 was the moment of choice in many things. The GOP Congress wouldn't coöperate, so that's that.

We suspect that a couple of years from now a lot of people who are criticizing Truman today will wish they had the little chap back. Truman is not a Roosevelt but neither is he a Dewey. He still is carrying the election fight almost single-handed. At the inflation hearings in Congress we attended, few Democrats bothered to show up. They are still suffering a suicide-compulsion. Southern Democrats coöperated largely with the GOP. Well, Truman's place in history is secure. He is the first Democratic President who ever said to the Southern Bourbons' threat to bolt: "Well, go ahead and bolt."

The Communist spy showings make a gaudy show. In eclipsing the special session on inflation they undoubtedly did Truman political harm. There is enough substance in the spy charges to make anxious citizens wish for a more judicious hearing. The contrast was amazing between the reasonably fair and dignified Senate hearings under Ferguson and the simultaneous witch-hunt and cloak-and-dagger melodrama of the Thomas Un-American Activities Committee of the House. The Ferguson committee refused to let self-admitted former Communists publish uncorroborated charges against others by name; the bumbling Thomas committee splashed the names about with the greedy relish of swine plunging into a trough. Such a procedure generates a tingling sense of injustice among the fair-minded that obscures the points that ought to be investigated. Can we afford this kind of government in this kind of world?

The United States, Britain and France have made a genuine effort to find a face-saving formula at Moscow for all sides, motivated as much as anything by the belief that our position in Berlin is strategically untenable, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HERE IS THE BIGGEST DOLLAR VALUE IN LIBERAL THOUGHT AND NEWS TODAY!

The coupon below entitles you to two full months of New Republic for only $1. This represents a special trial offer to allow you to read and judge this magazine's values . . . then continue reading it regularly as scores of thousands of other forward-looking Americans now do. Your $1 buys:

- Two full months of New Republic's special election news coverage. Factual reporting of what Dewey, Truman, Wallace, and "Dixiecrat" Thurmond are doing, saying and WHY.

- Two full months of New Republic's unique analyses of the current political and economic crises we all face: In Berlin, Palestine, Inflation at home, Housing and other developments of social and cultural importance.

- Two full months of New Republic's feature articles and regular features such as those appearing in this issue.

Mail your coupon now with $1 (check or money order). Take advantage of the low price, the full reader-value, and give gift subscriptions as well.

NEW REPUBLIC, 40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Send _____ two-month subscriptions of New Republic at $1 each to:

Name_____ Name_____

Address_____ Address_____

City, Zone, State_____ City, Zone, State_____

Sent by_____

Address_____

I enclose $_____. (Canadian & Foreign: $1.17 each.)

8/16/48

air lift notwithstanding. The ultimate outcome of these conferences may really be peace or war, though we may not realize it for a while. A successful conference will be one where both sides can boast, "We've won."

Notes. Bob Taft backed the T-E-W bill as presidential candidate; no longer a candidate, he thinks it can be postponed. . . . Truman's bold tactics have endangered the House seat of every one of 60 Republicans who were elected in 1946 by less than 55 percent of the votes, along with some of the more conservative of the 29 Democrats in the same spot; it is in these 89 specific contests that the real election excitement and importance may center. . . . Why was T-E-W killed? An AFL researcher found that combined lobbies of realtors, lumbermen, building-material producers and the like have salaries, by their own admission, of $222,583, with expenses at an annual rate of $62,000. . . . After 20 intermittent years as prime minister, Mackenzie King is quitting. If Canada had the two-term constitutional amendment Republicans are trying to give the USA, he would have had to retire after eight years. . . . Dewey knew in advance Congress would snub his proposal to liberalize the displaced person's admission bill but he didn't want Truman to have this red-hot religious and racial issue to himself. . . . While Congress was rejecting price controls, Ford was boosting prices a third time. . . . British correspondents are super-careful in handling the Washington spy story; Americans can't protect themselves against privileged slander in their own country but British libel laws safeguard them if it's printed there. . . . The *Wall Street Journal* told the inflation story in a nutshell: "Deflation fears deter GOP lawmakers from slipping on strong credit curbs." . . . Wavering trade unions are coming out on Truman's side but are still likely to concentrate efforts on Congress. . . . Estes Kefauver will be one of our best Senators; congratulations to editor Ed Meeman of the Nashville *Press-Scimitar*.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 119, NUMBER 7, ISSUE 1759, NEW YORK CITY, AUGUST 16, 1948 **New Republic**

THE WEEK

The Do-Nothing 80th Congress

THE THIRTEEN-DAY special session of the 80th Congress has left the Republican majority with an unblemished "do-nothing" record. The anti-inflation and housing measures it passed are useless for stopping inflation or building houses for rent at low cost. Aside from fake bills on these two leading issues, only one other of the points Truman submitted to the special session received any attention at all. For the most part, on matters such as reinstating excess-profits taxes and increasing the minimum wage, Republican leaders refused even to call the appropriate committees into session to consider the President's proposals.

But the Republicans were not idle during their August stay in Washington. If they were to be kept from campaigning for reëlection at home, they could at least take advantage of their franking privileges by making long speeches, to be printed and mailed at government expense, designed to prove that the Administration and not the Republicans is to blame for high prices. Of course, they were for housing for everybody, but the President's proposed housing program was "inflationary." The way to bring down prices was not to restore the controls which kept prices down during the war but to do away with the support-price program on farm products, or to stop foreign aid, or to stop something else. (A few Democrats finally pointed out that there is no support price involved in the production of a hamburger or many other of the most outlandishly priced items in today's family budget; that our total exports, including all foreign aid, will average only three percent of our total national production for the whole of this year.)

But reason had almost nothing to do with what was said or done in the special session. From his position as chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, Representative Jesse Wolcott (R, Mich.), more than any other one man, assured the defeat of Truman's anti-inflation program. But in the closing hours of Saturday night, Wolcott rose on the floor shouting: "We demand that the Administration stabilize our economy, stabilize the dollar and bring prices down." The Republican case was complete: the Truman Administration had forced prices sky-high and now, though it had the power, according to the Republicans, to bring them down, refused to do so. The GOP apparently believed that it would have no difficulty selling this palpably false yarn in November.

On housing, the story was much the same. For a moment, it looked as though one fearless independent Republican, Senator Charles W. Tobey (N. H.), was going to spoil all his party's well-laid plans for confining housing aid to "rich men and the real-estate lobby." The Republicans' master plan for the special session was to bring up no bill which would divide their own party in any way, and to bring up every bill which would divide the Democrats. In line with this principle, Senator Taft turned against his own Taft-Ellender-Wagner public-housing bill and tried to force Senator Tobey to do the same. Tobey was strong enough to defy his party and bring a reasonably good bill to the floor of the Senate. But there the GOP steamroller flattened him. The Administration made a poor show of mobilizing Democratic strength behind the Republican Senator who was leading the Administration's fight.

The Republicans did well in promoting discord among the Democrats. The Southern filibuster against action on the Truman civil-rights program was provoked by Senator Taft, with the express approval of the majority of his colleagues, and was ended on his direction at the time the Republicans decided it would be most advantageous to do so. The Republicans believe that the filibuster episode further worsened relations between the Northern and Southern wings of Mr. Truman's party. They have gone on record for reforming the rules of the Senate regarding cloture so as to abolish the filibuster at the next session of Congress, but that is in the comfortably distant future, after the election.

Governor Dewey is well pleased with the way everything went. He avoided public responsibility for what the Republicans did in this session and is thus free to try to conduct his campaign on the basis of promises rather than past performances. Senator Ives (R, N. Y.), Dewey spokesman in the Senate, has made it clear that Dewey will try to distract attention from the Republican record in the 80th Congress. But it is very clear that Harry Truman and the Democrats will strain every effort to prevent him from doing so. The 80th Congress is the Democrats' prize exhibit and Dewey will have to fight to take it away.

The White House believes that the special session documented Truman's case convincingly, that most people are now ready to believe that the Republicans are to blame for their troubles. In fact, the Democrats are so pleased with the way this special session went that they are considering calling another before the election.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDITORIAL: TRIAL BY CONGRESS

by Michael Straight

"WE WILL LEAVE the shooting up to someone else," said J. Parnell Thomas, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, when Representative Rankin argued that the men named in the committee's investigation of espionage should be shot. The committee had already, and illegally, assumed the role of prosecutor, jury, judge and firing squad. And after its work of character assassination, shooting seemed almost superfluous.

Grave as the charges are in this case, America is once again in graver danger from the accusers than from the accused. In the midst of a special session called to consider urgent legislative needs, at the height of a world crisis in which democracy is embattled, and at the opening of a presidential campaign in which Americans are called on to think clearly and profoundly on the issues of the next four years, the Thomas committee has undermined our Constitution and weakened our democracy by denying fundamental liberties and violating basic principles of government.

The successful operation of Congress is, of course, vital to our democracy. Investigation by congressional committees is essential in order to provide an informed basis for legislation. Prosecution of individuals by the same committees is entirely illegal.

Under our system of separation of powers, the Congress legislates and appropriates, the executive administers, the courts judge and convict. When a congressional committee attempts to indict or to convict, it undermines not only the authority of the executive and judiciary but of Congress itself.

Even in investigation, Congress cannot legally inquire into the consciences of Americans, or publicly punish them through the press for failing to conform to prevailing public sentiment. Our constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech follow our guiding philosophy which knows no absolute right or wrong. They forbid regulation of expression of opinion except when this expression constitutes a clear and present danger, and then only through cautious legal processes.

"I do not recognize that Congress is the grand inquest of the nation," said Justice Samuel Francis Miller seventy years ago. Congressional investigation is clearly limited by law to a well-defined legislative purpose. Its inquiry must always be a preface to legislation, and it must always be bounded by the same respect for constitutional rights as applies to Congress itself in enacting laws.

In an investigation, congressional committees must respect due process of law guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Any American under investigation must be able to know and promptly answer the charges against him, to call his own witnesses and examine adverse witnesses, and to be represented by counsel. Always the individual's guilt or responsibility is personal to him. It cannot be established on the basis of his past or present association with organizations or persons.

We believe that in the light of these general principles, the Thomas committee is plainly unconstitutional and has acted unconstitutionally in the espionage hearings.

In this investigation, a Federal Grand Jury considered for thirteen months the testimony of Elizabeth T. Bentley. It failed to find sufficient supporting evidence or testimony to return any indictment for espionage and apparently concluded that the evidence it gathered should not even be made public through a presentment.

At this point, two congressional committees not only seized the functions of the Grand Jury but condemned, by publicity, men whom the Grand Jury had refused to indict.

Senator Ferguson's committee, starting from an investigation into export controls, offered a forum for a public charge of espionage against William Remington. But the committee permitted Miss Bentley to name only Remington and immediately offered him the opportunity to reply.

Then the Thomas committee grabbed Elizabeth Bentley and set off on a headline hunt. Representative Mundt attempted to give its illegal action the appearance of constitutionality by relating it to the need for strengthening the Mundt-Nixon bill. Chairman Thomas, offering his interpretation of the purpose of American law, stated that his intention was to force the government to create a new Grand Jury in Washington "because nothing has been handed down by the Grand Jury up in New York."

Throughout the hearing, the central purpose of Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator of the Thomas committee, was to bring as many names under suspicion as possible. He cut off the questions of committee members. He refused to admit the records of the men named, in order that the full list could be brought out with the greatest speed. "Are there any other names?" was his constant question to Miss Bentley. By reading into the record transcripts of secret committee hearings on other matters, he related by innuendo men completely unrelated to the investigation. Was Aubrey Williams, former head of the National Youth Administration, connected with the Communist underground, he asked Whittaker Chambers. "I have heard Communists mention Williams in the greatest esteem as a friend of the Communist Party," Chambers replied.

"Are there any other names of the Silvermaster group that you have not mentioned?" Stripling asked Miss Bentley. "Just one," she answered. "The man was not a Communist but he did give information: Lauchlin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Currie." An hour later she explained that he had once passed favorably on Silvermaster's job application and that: "Mr. Silvermaster told me that one day Mr. Currie came dashing into Mr. Silvermaster's house sort of out of breath and told him that the Americans were on the verge of breaking the Soviet code." This was too much for John Rankin, concerned principally with proving that the defendants were Jews and enemies of Senator Bilbo. He gagged at this "smear by remote control."

Lauchlin Currie, we are sure, is a completely innocent man. Among his outstanding wartime services were the setting up of the lend-lease program for China and persuading the Army to train and equip a crack division of Chiang Kai-shek soldiers in India. He organized the Flying Tigers and was the first to arrange for civilian supplies to be sent to Italy. He sent Stanton Griffis to Sweden on the mission that cut off Swedish ball-bearing supplies to Germany, and he led the mission to Switzerland that severed the flow of German coal to Italy.

As one of six White House assistants, Currie was the senior economist in the government and liaison with the 2,000 leading economists in the government, just as James Rowe was for the lawyers, Sam McReynolds for the civil servants, and James Barnes for Congress. Currie passed on the *competence* of the economists. Their *loyalty* was not his responsibility. Most of the men named by Elizabeth Bentley happen to be economists, just as the men named by Chambers were lawyers. It was Currie's job to know many of them, and in the course of his job he passed favorably on the *competence* of Gregory Silvermaster. Largely for this action, his character has been befouled and his livelihood undermined.

In all, thirty government officials were named by Miss Bentley and eight by Whittaker Chambers. In prompt rebuttal, one of these, Alger Hiss, cleared himself in the eyes of most of the committee. But judging by the case of Dr. Edward Condon, who has tried for over a year to testify in answer to the charges levelled against him by the Thomas committee, it will be months, if ever, before all the accused men are allowed to defend themselves. Meanwhile their characters have been destroyed as fully and finally as if they had been condemned by a judge after trial by jury.

Many of these men we believe to be innocent of the charges made against them. We shall not name them because it is not for us, as it is not for the Thomas committee, to declare who is innocent and who is guilty. All Americans, by virtue of their citizenship, are innocent until they are proved to be guilty by due process of law.

In general, we believe that the outline of Elizabeth Bentley's story is largely accurate, and that the testimony of other witnesses mainly consists of irrelevant charges and malicious gossip. The Bentley testimony, if true, indicates that the Russians may have got by espionage what the British and our other allies got by sitting at a table in meetings of the Combined Chiefs of Staff and other inter-allied boards. The testimony of Chambers, if true, demonstrates that certain government officials in the early thirties exercised their constitutional right to be simultaneously members of the government and members of the Communist Party. The Budenz testimony, if true, indicates that leading Communists maintain close touch with Moscow. All this has seemed to us self-evident for some time.

The Canadian Royal Commission dealt with similar matters by specifying the charges of guilt and protecting innocent men. In secret hearings it exonerated almost without investigation men named by witnesses. The Commission reported:

> The names of certain other persons were mentioned in such a context that it was considered advisable to examine them and to investigate their activities. In each case we were satisfied that their conduct has been entirely proper and that while the Russians designed to draw some of them into the net in the future, having, in anticipation of doing so, actually given them cover names, such hopes were, in our opinion, completely without foundation and the objects of these hopes were unaware that they were being considered.

In our own country, irreparable damage has been done the accused men. These men and others must be protected from now on.

The pressure on the government is very great. There is grave danger that the loyalty check, which so far has been conducted with fairness and restraint, will now become a witch-hunt. President Truman's statement indicates that so far he is courageously resisting the pressure upon him.

The pressure on the Republican Party to exploit the investigation in the campaign is very great. John Foster Dulles promptly defended his appointee, Alger Hiss. We hope that Governor Dewey will rule the investigation out of campaign politics.

The pressure on the press is also very great. It's too much to ask that the editorial writers of those papers which now condemn the Thomas committee should begin by recognizing their complicity in its smear. A responsible free press can only place the investigation in proper perspective and give equal space and emphasis to accusers and accused.

The Supreme Court has twice refused to rule on the constitutionality of the Thomas committee. In the case of the "Hollywood Ten," the court cannot evade its responsibility.

Of course the investigation will continue. We earnestly recommend that the present Grand Jury be kept in session and that a non-partisan commission, meeting in secret and hearing voluntary witnesses under court procedure, be established to recommend revision of existing laws and future lines of inquiry.

Lastly, we believe that the American bar must act in self defense to protect the law from further encroachments by the Thomas committee.

"Rules of evidence are but tools," Justice Frankfurter once wrote in the *New Republic*, "[which] vary with the nature of the issues and the na-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ture of the tribunal seeking facts." Only in the case of congressional committees have no rules of evidence been laid down for governmental investigations. For that reason the Thomas committee has been able to outrage decency and respect for constitutional rights. We urgently propose that the bar appoint a committee of leading members to formulate rules of evidence for congressional committees, to follow congressional committees in the light of these rules and to appear on behalf of defendants whenever the rules are violated.

The danger is clear and present. *America is threatened again by Alien and Sedition laws. Where is her Thomas Jefferson?*

NO CHEERS FROM LABOR

At the New York State Federation of Labor convention, 1,099 accredited delegates listened without much interest to flaming political-action speeches. The spotlight of the convention was not on the delegates themselves, in the grand ballroom of the Hotel Commodore, but on an anteroom where a five-man credentials committee took action to deny seats to alleged left-wing delegates.

Nineteen delegates, chiefly from hotel and restaurant union locals, were barred from the floor. Another, facing deportation charges, was barred as an alien. Seven others, originally challenged by the credentials committee, were finally seated. The convention unanimously approved these actions and also adopted a constitutional amendment, offered by Joseph P. Ryan, of the International Longshoremen's Association, permanently barring Communists or members of "any other party whose objectives are the overthrow by force of the government of the USA."

On the political-action front, Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York asked open support for President Truman, but the delegates quietly passed presidential endorsements to the new national organization, Labor's League for Political Action, headed by Joseph Keenan.

The top leadership of the New York Federation is reported to be pro-Dewey, although the rank and file is generally considered favorable to Truman. There was little show of enthusiasm for either candidate.

CRUMP IS WHIPPED

Progressives in Tennessee thought Estes Kefauver could be elected to the Senate. But they had never dared hope to win by as much as the 30,000-vote margin Kefauver actually rolled up in the Democratic primary, campaigning on a New Deal platform.

The defeat of Ed Crump's candidates for both the Senate and the governorship represents the worst licking that the aging boss has ever taken. More than anything else, the election of Kefauver shows what unity can do. Kefauver had the solid support of the AFL, the CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods and many schoolteachers who liked Kefauver's stand for federal aid to education.

The light Republican primary vote has lulled many Kefauver supporters into assuming that, having won the primary, Kefauver is as good as elected. That may not be the case this time. The Republicans carried Tennessee in 1928. Even in 1944, Dewey polled 200,000 to Roosevelt's 300,000 votes for the presidency. With Roy Acuff, star of radio's "Grand Ole Opry," as their candidate for Governor, and former Republican National Chairman B. Carroll Reece for the Senate, Tennessee Republicans have an unusually strong ticket this year. Some of the experts think that Boss Crump will probably support Reece against Kefauver, or, at the very least, will help Reece by keeping mum. A strong Dixiecrat ticket on the ballot in November could seriously split the Democratic vote, too.

THE COMMUNISTS CONVENE

The marquee above the main entrance to New York's Madison Square Garden blandly announced "National Convention—Communist Party" as if the night's event were a non-title prize fight. A hundred or so people grouped near the ticket windows chatted with each other and watched for friends. Even in the hot, sticky weather, the police were conspicuously courteous: one patrolman asked wearily, "Please, lady, keep back, we gotta keep the sidewalk clear."

When everyone had finally filed inside, most of the 20,000 seats were filled. People fanned themselves patiently, bought pamphlets and listened to the band play the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Banners strung around the balconies gave the audience a bulletin-board version of the points to be covered by the evening's oratory. One streamer read: STOP POLICE BRUTALITY. PUNISH THE KILLERS OF WILLIE MILTON. WORKERS TRADE UNIONS SUPPORT THE NEW PARTY. LIFT THE EMBARGO OF ISRAEL. END INTERVENTION IN GREECE AND CHINA. DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF COMMUNISTS IS DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE. DOWN WITH THE WARMONGERS.

When the speakers came in, the crowd arose and roared a welcome, and after considerable bowing and hand-waving up popped Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the matronly mistress of ceremonies. In precise fashion, she introduced New York City's Communist councilman, Ben Davis, who sounded the keynote of the convention with a blistering attack on the government's indictment of the 12 members of the Communists' National Board (Davis is one of those indicted).

Despite occasional bursts of enthusiasm, the convention lacked buoyancy. The audience seemed to be preoccupied with the arrests of their leaders. Their heartiest demonstrations were over the personalities of the indicted men rather than their speeches. In the case of Eugene Dennis, the party's general secretary, the ovation he received as he strode to the platform was in strange contrast to the listless reception the people gave his address. Perhaps it was Dennis' tired,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pale delivery and the way he leaned wearily on the speaker's stand that accounted for the fact that throughout most of his speech, the sighing of the Garden's ventilation system was clearly audible above his words.

The other speeches, too, lacked the old emotional bite. There were no fiery incitements: merely complaints about the lack of housing, congressional inaction on anti-inflation measures, the South's filibuster against civil-rights legislation, and the imperialist decadence of Wall Street. These were hardly new explosions. They sounded uncomfortably like the echoes of millions of other voices in America.

Not until Carl Winter, the gray-haired chairman of the party's Michigan State Council, now under indictment for conspiracy against the US, took the stand did the crowd wake up. It was Winter who finally brought a touch of real fire and bitterness to the meeting—the only one of the speakers who still showed a trace of the "Wobbly."

His verbs were the acrid, phosphorescent kind that started the smoke curling from the audience. In a few minutes the people were out of their seats. At this point Winter appealed for party contributions. The money poured in.

The last speech was by William Z. Foster, the party's past candidate for President (it will run no slate this year since it is supporting the Progressive Party). The loudest roar of the evening put the period on his climactic point: "The central meaning of the times in which we live is that the capitalist system is hopelessly breaking down. The world's people are on the march to socialism, and all the gold and bayonets of Wall Street cannot stop them."

Suddenly, the speechmaking was over. It took a long time for the Garden to empty. Lined up, waiting to get out, people gawked at the balconies, and said very little. Somebody rustled a newspaper, and remarked that a woman had given birth to her third set of twins in 27 months. A girl nearby whistled in amazement.

DAKOTA POINTS THE WAY

by Bob Faulds

BISMARCK

WHILE THE NATION'S political interests have focused on the convention antics at Philadelphia and the intra-party squabbles of the Democrats, interesting political developments have been occurring in the Midwest.

In the recent North Dakota primary, the conservative Republican faction suffered a thumping defeat. This faction, called the Republican Organization Committee (ROC), has been in complete control of the state government for four years. A coalition of the Farmers' Union and labor revived the enervated Nonpartisan League and swept five of the nine state offices. The liberal coalition forces also gained control of the powerful Industrial Commission and the lower house of the legislature, and elected a liberal congressman, defeating the arch-conservative Charles Robertson.

Since this prairie state is overwhelmingly Republican, a primary victory is tantamount to election.

The victory has sidelights worth noting:

Coupled with the defeat of conservative Governor Blue in Iowa, the victory indicates reaction may have reached its peak in the Midwest and a liberal political trend may be starting.

Historically, North Dakota politics is "wheat and weather" politics. When the weather is good and the price of wheat is high, North Dakota liberals seem to vanish suddenly into the dry prairie air. But when drought hits, there are suddenly more radicals and liberals on the rolling plains than there are tumbleweeds.

But with North Dakota banks bulging with farmers' money after seven bumper crop years, and with prospects bright for this year, all the usual signs pointed to another sweeping victory for the reactionary ROC.

To the astonishment of everyone, the liberals won instead. Why? Political-action organization in this state is an interesting experiment. It is one that will be closely watched by political observers. But it is only symptomatic of the real feeling of unrest and confusion that prevails among Midwest farmers and workers.

The incidents that led to this minor revolt of farmers and laborers in North Dakota and helped establish the Farmers' Union Progressive Alliance, which resulted in a victory for the liberals, are interesting:

In 1946 the conservative ROC group gained complete control of the administrative and legislative branches of the state government in North Dakota, coinciding with the Republican capture of Congress. All those vested groups who had been on the outside looking in for many years were at last on the inside. Naturally, Big Business saw it as a chance to make hay. Both in Washington and in Bismarck, "anti" bills of every description were introduced in a one-breath attempt to snuff out the last remaining flicker of New Dealism.

So many of the same kind of bills were introduced in Congress and the North Dakota legislature that it seemed as though national conservative leaders were using the state as a guinea pig.

The NAM-fostered National Tax Equality Association found many state legislators only too happy to introduce a coöperative tax measure. For years the Association had been making a nationwide campaign against coöperatives, and now they saw their chance to get a co-op tax law enacted. But congressmen remembered that coöperatives have a powerful influence, especially in the Midwest. And the Midwest had gone solidly Republican in 1946.

NTEA officials, knowing that North Dakota was one of the most coöperative-minded states in the union and that the Governor and legislature were controlled by conservative Republicans, felt that a co-op tax bill stood a good chance of passing. If it worked in North Dakota, the NTEA could take

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this irrefutable evidence to Washington and convince Congress that "grassroots" farmers believed in "tax equality."

Similarly, the NAM lobbyists in Bismarck found many ND legislators happy to introduce two anti-labor bills —bills embodying the worst features of the Taft-Hartley Act, later passed by Congress.

Another bill was written to cripple a Farmers' Union insurance company; and one was aimed at preventing an FU company from doing business in North Dakota.

The legislature was packed with men favorable to Big Business. Labor and the Farmers' Union appeared to be ideal whipping boys because (1) labor is a small force in North Dakota and is generally not well organized; and (2) the Farmers' Union, though embracing 36,000 members out of 65,000 farmers, had always studiously avoided party politics and by reason of its far-flung coöperatives throughout the state was feared and suspected by small-town businessmen.

The lobbyists and the ROC leaders believed they were on sound ground in thinking that the 1946 election lethargy of farmers and laborers would hold any opposition to these bills down to a token resistance.

The Farmers' Union made its first show of resistance in the committee hearings on the co-op tax bill and the insurance bills. But it was not until the appearance of NDFU's dynamic president, Glenn J. Talbott, that ROC leaders became alarmed.

They knew Talbott as a deadly, effective fighter. They knew him as one of the most successful farm leaders in the country. They knew he could raise hell when he set his mind to it.

When Talbott appeared in Bismarck to testify at one of the committee hearings, the chairman of the senate judiciary committee which had been given the insurance bills told Talbott to "get out of Bismarck or we will call a senate investigation of your insurance company." The senator told Talbott, also, that, regardless of any of the merits of such an investigation, the senate committee would see to it "that the Farmers' Union Company would get a million dollars worth of bad publicity."

Talbott said he'd stay and that he'd welcome such an investigation.

The investigation was held and it turned out to be a farce, as everyone knew it would. There was nothing to investigate. But it brought out some interesting developments. Thousands of loyal Farmers' Union members, stirring from their long political lethargy, swarmed into Bismarck those final days of the sessions. They buttonholed and stalked their representatives from morning till night. It was not unusual to see house members and senators being completely surrounded by 20 to 50 voters from home, angrily harassing the perspiring legislators for hours at a time.

A week of this kind of treatment and the once-confident ranks of the ROC's were broken.

But before the legislative tide was turned, the senate leaders made one last desperate effort to thwart Talbott and thus put an end to the flood of protests that were pouring into the capitol halls. In the course of the investigation of the FU insurance company, the senate granted the committee chairman the power to seize the Farmers' Union mailing list, and "any books, files, papers or documents . . . pertaining to any matter the committee wishes to inquire about."

Talbott, of course, adamantly refused to obey the ridiculous subpoena, and thus laid himself open to a jail sentence for the duration of the legislative session. This was what ROC leaders expected him to do and jail was where they wanted him to be.

But Talbott went on a statewide broadcast that night and told his FU members what was happening. He told them he would be glad to become the first "political prisoner" and that arrangements would be made whereby he would continue his daily broadcasts to the people from the confines of the Burleigh County jail.

The next morning new thousands of FU members flooded the legislative halls, and the senate committee ignored Talbott's "contempt action." They knew that the subpoena overstepped the bounds of democratic decency and that if Talbott were put behind bars, there would be a march on Bismarck. When the insurance and co-op bills came to a final vote in the house, the measures were defeated.

But it had been a close call for the farmers of the state. Labor had not fared so well. Both anti-labor bills had been passed by large majorities and the Governor signed them.

The following June, Talbott called a statewide meeting of FU leaders and labor heads. In the two-day meeting at Jamestown, the Farmers' Union Progressive Alliance was born.

From that day on, much of the time, effort and resources of FUPA were spent in mobilizing liberal-thinking people in the state into a solid, aggressive political front.

The election upset of June 29 was the result. ROC leaders, during the recent campaign, called Talbott a "dictator." They accused the Farmers' Union of "pressure politics." They used every trick in the book to discourage the independent voter from voting liberal. They were only partly successful.

The liberals failed to unseat conservative Governor Aandahl and a few lesser state officials—but in view of the prosperous times and the fact that it was the first attempt of the FU in politics, it was considered an overwhelming victory.

National political leaders are watching the Midwest for signs of political things to come. They are remembering the axiom that there is always a lag between apparent political trends in national politics and real political trends in certain states, that about the time the national government has gone liberal or conservative some of the states are moving in the opposite direction.

The Midwest is particularly significant in this respect. North Dakota may be leading it—and the nation—in a slow swing away from the crackpot policy of the Republican Congress back to the sanity of the New Deal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUTWARD BOUND

Waiting for planes and ships, a million British men and women plan to leave home for new lives in the Empire

by Thomas Whiteside

WHEN CARLOAD after carload of families, short of food and water, got stuck in howling sandstorms in the middle of the Sahara Desert recently, the situation became serious enough for the British Foreign Office to issue a statement on what is generally known in Whitehall as "the position."

Numbers of people, warned the Foreign Office, who had arrived in Africa from Britain, were setting out "in small parties . . . often including women and children . . . to trek across the Sahara Desert by motor car . . . impractical venture . . . 100 stranded . . . embarrassment to the authorities. . . ." The Spartan motorists, explained the statement, had taken on this dangerous trip "with a view" to reaching southerly British territories such as Nigeria "and there making their home."

From Togoland to Temiscouata, Canada, from the Gold Coast to Lake Disappointment, Australia, the story could be repeated in various shades. A million Englishmen are scrambling over one another to reach the dominions and colonies. The outposts of empire, once so heavily depicted by novelists as fit places only for retired imperial-army colonels, remittance men and heavy gin drinkers, have now the shining allure of a warmer paradise. Even a desperate trans-Sahara caravan trek seems sometimes more inviting than the interminable wait in London for boat passage to the dominions and colonies—usually referred to merely as "papers." ("What are you doing these days, old boy?" "Oh, just waiting for my papers to come through, you know.")

In London, every dominion and colony information office has set up flashy windows and displays, outlining for Englishmen the charms of outer imperial life. Crowds stand in the drizzle outside to gape at blown-up photographs of fortunate beings disporting themselves under blazing skies by the Australian surf, riding horseback in the Canadian Rockies, or overlooking with a lordly air their South African vineyards.

The people who line up inside to enter their names on emigrant waiting lists have, for the most part, little chance of booking passage inside of two years: applications on file in various dominion and shipping-company offices add up at present to a total of more than a million. The file rooms of Australia House alone contain the names of 700,000 potential emigrants. More than 300,000 Englishmen want to go to Canada. A hundred thousand are trying to get to South Africa. The call of Kenya, Southern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, British Bechuanaland or Malaya has brought in another 12,000 applications. Nor is this all. A Gallup poll taken recently in England produced the sensational conclusion that a total of 42 percent of Britain's adult population would like to emigrate. Of Britain's youth (21-29) alone, the poll showed that 58 percent were considering leaving the islands. These figures become even more startling when you consider a similar poll taken amid the ruins of Germany last year. The German poll showed that a mere 46 percent of German youth would like to get out of their country.

Even allowing for the probably exaggerated impression of the British poll, which dealt with wishes rather than with realities, there is no doubt that the majority of British people now realize that their island, shorn of its ability to pay for raw materials from the outside, is grossly overpopulated.

Consider British population density alone: the United States has 43 people per square mile; Britain has 740. With the largest number of tractors per square mile of arable land, the United Kingdom cannot produce more than one-third of the food necessary for her people.

A young Northumberland coal miner, bringing home a few flour sacks for his wife to sew into a tablecloth (she saved precious coupons that way), summed it up easily enough. "There's no future in England for a young man," he said. "I'm getting away as soon as I can." "There aren't any queues in Australia," said a Dur-

HAYING IN CANADA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AUSTRALIA: BOTTLE TREES AND CATTLE

DRAWINGS BY JOHN GROTH

ham housewife. "Practically no taxes at all in Jamaica," said a Liverpool businessman, choking over his beer at the thought. "Why build all these houses around the country?" said a young Tory in the Ministry of Works. "Let the people who want to get out, get out, and then we'll save materials, money and a lot of effort."

Even Winston Churchill, the greatest John Bull of them all, recently spoke vigorously, if reluctantly, of the possibility of having to consider depopulating the British Isles by one-quarter.

Some Tories regard depopulation as a long-range political asset. "Send these chaps to the dominions—sentimental ties to the Crown—natural bonds of affection. . . ." Others damn the emigrants roundly: letting their country down. Cartoons in *Punch* portray hay-covered Somerset octogenarians, who point out to one another the advantages of old England in their frightfully quaint but not very understandable way.

One Tory editor, Theo Lang, after having observed the departure of 400 Scots down the Clyde, rushed to his desk in a fit of pique. "So the tragic drift goes on," he wrote indignantly, "and every day Scotland's reservoir of youth and manhood sinks. Last year 43,000 Scots went overseas, the year before, 36,000." Why should a Scotsman want to go anywhere else? he asked bitterly. "There are other openings in this new world of Scotland . . . any day one cares to spend on the beach [of the Isle of Skye] one can earn £1 or more gathering whelks. . . ."*

The attitude of the Labor Government itself is somewhat more ambivalent than that of the whelk-and-winkle economists. On the whole, the government is inclined to view the mass-migration movement with an air of benevolent neutrality. In the long haul, it realizes that Britain, which at the time of her greatest prosperity did not support on an adequate scale more than 35 million people, cannot hope to feed 48 million. But for reconstruction of her war-ravaged economy, Britain needs every available hand at present. Skilled workers are at a premium. In fact, the government has been bringing into Britain well over 1,000 foreign workers a week for its coal and textile industries, besides using thousands of DP's and prisoners of war for government land schemes, in an attempt to counterbalance the drift of workers away from vital industries and the emigration of 100,000 Britons, most of them skilled, in the last 18 months.

MP's have been heckling the government for its lack of a definite policy on emigration. Patrick Gordon-Walker, Undersecretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, replies that any big question of mass migration is "wholly premature." The government has also made clear that it reserves the right to "retard" the emigration of highly skilled workers needed at home.

* Sea snails much eaten in Scotland, often with the assistance of a pin.

In the resulting polite tugging between the mother country and the dominions for skills which each wants, the dominions are frantically searching for any available means of transport. The Canadian government has opened an air charter service to take out some 10,000 Britons a year. "We have snapped up everything that came to hand," said Arthur A. Calwell, Australian Minister for Immigration, "from a brand-new liner to a burned-out hulk."

While in Britain, Calwell spotted the hull of the luxury liner, *Monarch of Bermuda,* lying in drydock in the Firth of Forth, and immediately got the Australian government to spend $5 million rebuilding the ship exclusively for the transportation of British migrants to Australia.

Calwell now plans to charter aircraft carriers to bring over additional thousands, and some pro-emigration Britons have suggested deploying a great part of the RAF's bomber service on transatlantic migratory runs.

Australia has 150,000 jobs and 100,000 beds waiting for priority immigrants who will get either free or "assisted" passages. Australian authorities estimate that it will take two years to transfer even the most essential workers—engineers, draughtsmen, architects, bricklayers, electricians—needed from Britain. The 50,000 British immigrants expected by Australia this year constitute only a drop in the bucket to the 7.5 million which the dominion has set as its immediate immigration goal.

"There's no doubt that we could carry another 30 million," said an Australian official in a matter-of-fact way. Some boosters from the antipodes even talk of a capacity of 70 million.

Hard up though they are for immigrants, the dominions are trying to be choosy about their new citizens. Most of them definitely prefer Anglo-Saxon

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stock, usually between the ages of 21 and 35. The policy of taking bread-winners away from British families doesn't get a very warm reception from the British authorities, although Canada has found favor by encouraging the emigration of whole families rather than single men. The Union of South Africa, which hands out no free passages, wants white people only, and then only those who do not take a job held by a South African. (Last year South Africa increased national wealth by $300 million brought in by British immigrants.) And New Zealand won't accept any Irishmen unless they volunteered for service in one of the armed forces in World War II.

Of all the dominions, Australia is the most popular with would-be immigrants, with South Africa, New Zealand and the colonies trailing well behind. Oddly enough, only six percent of those wanting to ship out decided on the US. In fact, the US immigration quota for Britons has seldom been filled, and last year only 24,124 settled here from England out of a quota of 65,721.

"I know that you have everything over there," a Birmingham bookkeeper told me, "but competition must be awfully keen, mustn't it? And everything costs so much. I think I'll go to Kenya. I hear that the Kenya government is renting farms to settlers for a very reasonable price."

CLOSING IN ON A KILLER

Recent progress regarding the causes and treatment of cancer justify the hope that the fight is being won

by Bruce Bliven

So far as the waiters could see, this was just another big public dinner in a swank New York hotel. The guests were average American men and women who talked and acted like anyone else.

Yet the dinner had its points of interest. Every one of these people, chatting cheerfully as they ate their sirloin steaks and string beans, had once been a victim of the most feared of all diseases. All of them had recovered only because the malady was discovered in time and was treated in the light of the best medical knowledge now available.

Tragically, for every nine persons at that dinner, twelve others who might have been present, were dead of the same disease, and solely because treatment had not begun soon enough.

This was, as you have guessed, one of the many meetings of persons eligible for the Cured Cancer Club. Cancer authorities like to publicize the existence of this group, and with good reason: the large and growing number of its members bears witness to the fact that we are closing in on the Number Two Killer (Number One is heart disease). No chemical cure for any of the many types of cancer, with their multiple causes, has yet been discovered; the members of the Cured Cancer Club are people who have been treated by the classic methods of surgery, X-ray and radium. Yet so much new information has recently been discovered, that the total situation is decidedly hopeful. For instance:

We are accumulating an enormous mass of information about the ways in which the many types of cancer begin to grow.

Several highly promising new techniques have been developed which hold out the hope of much earlier detection than was heretofore possible.

Some important new methods of treatment, while they do not in themselves constitute a cure, relieve pain and lengthen the life of the patient.

Despite some misleading published statements, there is no evidence of an actual increase in cancer in any group of individuals of the same age level and circumstances. The seeming increase is due to improved diagnosis and the fact that people live longer (cancer is largely a disease of the aged).

At least two factors are helping to cut down the death rate. Because of the widespread campaign of popular education, more people undergo periodic examinations for cancer than ever before. And second, because of advances in surgical skill and techniques, many cancers formerly considered inoperable and hopeless are now successfully removed. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company reports that among its policyholders, the death rate from cancer is beginning to go down.

What Causes Cancer?

If the cancer experts knew the full answer to this question, many of their troubles would be over. They already know of a large number of causes for cancers of various types. They do not, however, know exactly what happens to the cells in living tissues in the presence of a "carcinogenic agent" which causes them to begin their wild, uncontrolled growth.

There are several hundred chemical agents which can cause cancer. A familiar example is the frequent cancer of the skin among chimney-sweeps in England in the eighteenth century, which came from tarry products in the soot to which they were exposed.

Some types of cancer are believed to be caused by the viruses, minute

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

particles, resembling a single protein molecule, which exhibit the characteristics of both living substance and inert chemicals. This is true of certain types of abnormal growths in rabbits and in frogs, and of Rous's sarcoma, a cancer which appears in chickens.

It is also believed to be true of cancer of the breast which is transmitted by way of the mother's milk from one generation of laboratory mice to the next. (These are mice inbred for many generations for susceptibility to this particular form of cancer.) If the newborn mice are taken away from the mother before they have had a chance to suckle, and given to a foster mother of a cancer-resistant strain, the amount of cancer in the new generation is far less.

Laboratory animals have developed tumors of various types after receiving a diet highly deficient in the chemical substance, choline, which is one of the essential elements in all food.

Both in laboratory animals and among human beings, marked obesity is associated with a higher cancer rate. This does not necessarily mean, however, that overweight causes cancer. Both conditions may arise from some common source, as yet unknown.

The chief theories as to the cause of cancer on which the scientists are at work are as follows:

It is suggested that cancer may result from some upset in the combined working, within the body, of the hormones (products of the glands of internal secretion), the enzymes (natural catalysts, which help to change one substance to another) and the vitamins (which are known to be essential to healthy functioning, growth, and even life itself).

X-rays and radium, which are two of the three present tools for curing cancer, can also cause it, if administered in excessive amounts. The suggestion has been made, therefore, that the cosmic rays may cause some forms of cancer. To test this theory, a large colony of mice is being kept below the surface in a Canadian mine, where the cosmic ray bombardment is 20,000 times weaker than at the surface. Another group of mice of the same strain is being kept on the surface for comparison.

New Methods of Detection

I have already emphasized the life-and-death importance of early treatment for cancer. At present, about one-quarter of all cancer victims are saved; this would be true of an *additional one-third* if the cancer could be detected in time. But several of the most difficult forms display no symptoms detectable by current means, until they are far advanced.

A simple, automatic test for cancer in its early stages, in any part of the body, would be of inestimable value. There is now hope that such a method may be possible. Several techniques have been developed which seem decidedly encouraging. *None of them, however, is yet out of the stage of laboratory experiment.* Here is a list of the most promising ones:

1. A highly concentrated extract from the urine of the person to be tested is made and injected into a rat in the laboratory. If the individual has cancer, in most cases there is a marked enlargement of the spleen or gonads of the rat within a few days.

2. In another technique, a blood sample is taken from the patient and a serum is made. To this is added a substance from the liver of an embryo calf. In a large proportion of cases, the presence of cancer causes the serum sample to turn cloudy.

3. Another method is to expose small amounts of serum from the blood of the patient to ultraviolet light. If cancer is present, the serum appears clear; if there is none, it glows and appears cloudy.

4. Another technique, which seems particularly promising, uses blood plasma, diluted with distilled water and placed in glass tubes. The light transmitted through the plasma is studied before and after the tube has been immersed in boiling water for a few seconds. The heat causes the plasma to coagulate, but the coagulation is much faster if cancer is present. Two other tests are used in combination with number four. They involve the use of two dyes, methylene blue and cresyl blue. In each case, the adding of the dye to the blood sample causes color changes which indicate presence or absence of cancer. These three tests in combination have proved more than 80 percent accurate.

Most of the foregoing techniques are unreliable, however, if the patient is pregnant or has malaria, or, sometimes, for reasons not yet known.

5. Cancer in the womb or uterus can sometimes be ascertained by microscopic examination of smears taken from the surface of the vagina, which may contain dead cells from the cancerous tissue. This technique, however, requires the use of highly trained and experienced laboratory technicians. The same is true of similar studies for stomach and lung cancer.

6. In a limited number of cases, brain tumors, normally extremely difficult to detect in their early stages, have been identified through the use of a radioactive substance. There is a dye, fluorescein, which seems to have an affinity for cancerous brain tissue. Combined with radioactive iodine, a new substance, diiodofluorescein, is formed. When injected into the veins of the patient, the radioactive dye tends to concentrate in brain tumors. The tumor then can be located by use of a Geiger counter.

From such promising laboratory beginnings, effective methods for detecting cancer may develop. Given such tests, the whole population could be checked, with enormous saving of human misery. Persons who had undergone apparently successful treatments for cancer could be given regular checkups. These would prove whether or not the cancer had recurred, or had spread.

Is Cancer Hereditary?

Science does not yet know the full answer to this question, but the best current judgment is that most of the chief types of human cancer are not hereditary. Naturally, any individual in whose family history a number of cases of cancer have occurred, will be careful about frequent examinations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As already stated, laboratory mice can be bred, over many generations, to a very high degree of susceptibility to a given type of cancer—in the breast, for instance—or to equally high resistance to it. But this fact carries no necessary implication for human beings. People, as someone has said, are all mongrels; we cross-breed so indiscriminately that we could not possibly reproduce the situation of sixty generations of mice inbred, often with their brothers and sisters, for a single genetic factor.

The few types of human cancer which do seem to have a possible hereditary factor might well prove to be environmental: successive generations may unwittingly follow the same eating habits, or otherwise repeat the same external pattern of life, with a tendency to produce cancer. Dr. A. C. Ivy has pointed out that cancer of the stomach occurs twice as frequently in the Dutch as in the British. It occurs more widely in Great Britain among the poor than the rich. The Chinese in Java have markedly more cancer than the Javanese; the Bantu people in Africa have about twice as much cancer as other African Negroes. These facts strongly suggest some external influence such as diet.

What About Treatment?

Some sensational articles have been printed which have led the lay public to believe that miraculous new cures for cancer are now available, perhaps in the form of radioactive substances, by-products of the atomic bomb. Unfortunately, these hopes are not justified. Surgery, X-rays and radium are still the only sure tools, and they must be applied early to give any hope of success. But a number of other treatments are now employed which relieve pain and in some cases cause a regression of the growth, thus lengthening the patient's life. These treatments are particularly interesting because of the hope that among them may be found clues to a genuine new cure or cures.

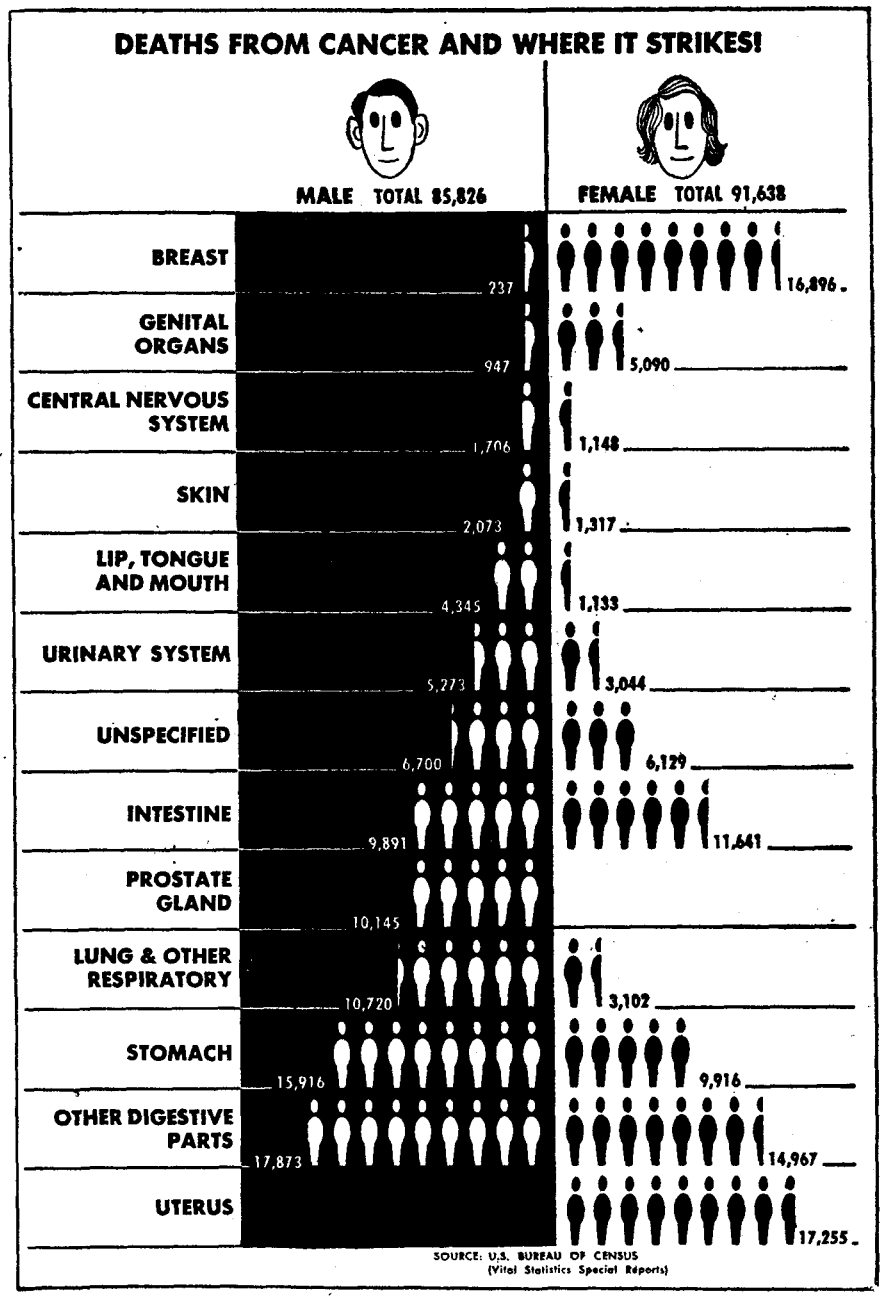
The use of sex hormones in certain types of cancer is one of the treatments which, while not a cure, brings relief to the patient and is significant also for its possible light on the causes of cancers of certain types. Male sex hormones reduce pain, and sometimes cause slowing down or regression of cancer of the breast, in women. Female sex hormones have a similar effect in cancer of the prostate gland in men, and sometimes in cancer of the male breast.

Very careful studies, primarily at the great Memorial Hospital in New York City, have shown that the urine of patients with cancer contains certain hormone products which are not found in the urine of healthy individuals.

Cancer of the stomach is sometimes associated with the malfunctioning of the adrenal glands, which are part of the hormone-producing endocrine system. A hormone secreted by the adrenals has been duplicated synthetically in crystalline form and has a restraining influence on one form of cancer in experimental animals.

The female sex hormone, estrogen, is known to cause abnormal growth of tissues in young chicks. This growth is checked by the use of a vitamin derivative called aminopterin.

The thyroid gland has a great af-



CHARTS BY RAMON GORDON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

finity for iodine, and this substance, made radioactive, is now being used to treat certain cases of cancer of that gland. But only one thyroid cancer in seven is of the special type where radioactive iodine is of any value, and, with a single possible exception, there is no record of a cure. In the other cases, the rate of growth was slowed, and the amount of pain substantially diminished.

Nitrogen mustards are being used in cancerous involvements of the lymphatic tissues, the blood cells and the lungs. They do not produce a cure, but they can relieve pain and prolong the life of the patient.

Experimental work is under way with radioactive metals which are inserted in small quantities into cancerous tissues lying on or near the surface of the body.

Folic acid, a vitamin, appears to inhibit Rous's sarcoma in chickens, though it is accompanied by extremely serious toxic effects.

Teropterin, a vitamin-like chemical, is derived from folic acid. It has been used successfully, either alone or in combination with testosterone, to bring temporary relief in cancer of the breast, including some cases which have spread to other parts of the body.

Careful experiments are now beginning in which sound waves will be used in the effort to kill cancerous cells. It is already known that these sound waves—so high as to be inaudible—can be used to kill bacteria. They can now be focused on one spot, greatly increasing their effectiveness.

Another interesting line of experiment is based on the fact that if tissues of one species of animal are injected into the body of an animal of a different species, they seem to create "antibodies," just as disease germs do. In experiments with rats, mice and rabbits, involving a single organ—the kidney, for instance—the antibodies have gone to the same organ in the new host. The hope is that radioactive isotopes could be mixed in with these antibodies, so that cancerous tissues in any given organ could be subjected to direct attack.

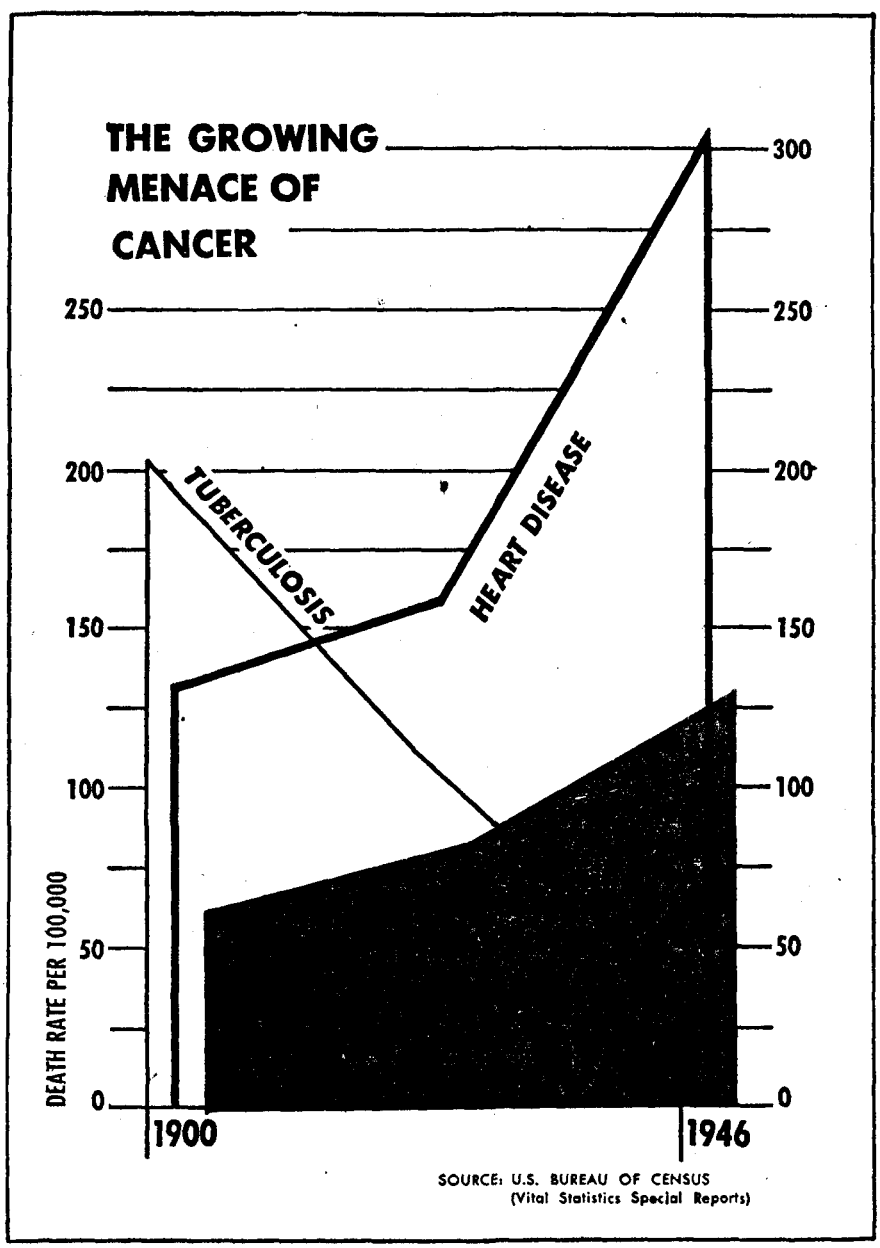
From Russia some time ago came accounts of the "KR" serum for cancer, said to be highly successful. It is derived from a germ, trypanosome cruzi, which is the active agent in Chagas disease. Only one American physician, the late Dr. W. M. Malisoff, has ever reported success with the KR serum in this country. Experiments are still being carried forward, however.

Work done at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography in California has suggested that microörganisms of marine origin can decompose certain hydrocarbons. These hydrocarbons are among the common chemical agents which, in laboratory experiments, produce cancer.

There is also a drug extracted from the may apple or mandrake, called podophyllin, which breaks down tumors in laboratory animals. Since the drug is excessively poisonous, it cannot as yet be used on human beings.

Nothing is known at present about the possibility of vaccination against cancer, but there is one set of facts which is interesting:

Work done in Canada, initiated by the late Sir Frederick Banting, shows that chickens inoculated with Rous's sarcoma and then cured with X-rays are thereafter immune to the sarcoma, perhaps because of antibodies that have been created.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Until we know more about the possible new techniques of detection described earlier, the only safe course for the individual is to get a periodic medical examination. Unfortunately, many practising physicians do not yet know the full routine of such examination, though campaigns of education are now being conducted for them in the medical schools and through professional periodicals.

There are about 200 cancer-detection clinics in this country, where the examination is really thorough; nearly all of them are swamped with applications and more such clinics are urgently needed. Meanwhile, the individual himself can check some of the symptoms of certain types of cancer. The most common are:

1. Any lump or thickening of the tissues anywhere in the body.
2. Irregular bleeding or discharge from any body orifice.
3. Any change in color or size of a mole, wart or birthmark.
4. Any sore that does not heal.
5. Persistent unexplained hoarseness or cough.
6. Appearance of persistent, unexplained indigestion.
7. Appearance of marked, alternating constipation and diarrhea.
8. Pain and difficulty in urinating.
9. Sudden unexplained loss of weight.

I print this list of symptoms with some hesitation. The great public campaign of education against cancer has saved many lives, but it has also produced a lot of hypochondriac "cancerphobes." While any of these symptoms should be taken seriously and brought to the attention of your doctor, all of them occur, innumerable times, without the presence of any malignant growth. No symptom should be ignored, but the chances are many to one that in any individual instance, cancer is not present.

And, finally, the chief note to strike is certainly one of hope. Knowledge is accumulating at an increasing rate. Techniques for detection and treatment are steadily improving. The Number Two Killer is not yet in handcuffs; but his days are numbered.

LIFE IN RUSSIA'S GERMANY

What the USSR is doing to and about German doctors, lawyers, teachers and factory workers in its zone

by Peter Nettle

This is the third and last of a series of articles reporting in detail what is happening in the Russian zone in Germany.

The author is a young Englishman who has spent several years in Berlin. His series is published in conjunction with the Political Quarterly, *London.*

– THE EDITORS

THE POLITICAL importance of many of the social measures which are being put into effect in the Russian zone of Germany has been discussed in earlier articles. As far as the professional services are concerned, the new measures have been implemented on a paradoxical basis: while they are to be greatly extended, the available personnel has been decreased by the ban on all former Nazi Party members.

This contradiction is evident, for instance, in the reorganization of education. Under Hitler's civil-service law of 1937, all teachers had to become at least nominal Nazis. By dismissing all these, the educational authorities in the Russian zone are left with an enormous shortage of personnel. Yet at the same time an ambitious scheme of adult education has been added to the school and university services—which are themselves to be extended!

In order to fulfil these demands on staff, the training of new teachers has had to be rushed through in minimum time and therefore falls well below the prewar standard. The emphasis in teaching is, again, largely political.

After an abortive attempt to reëstablish student movements in 1946, these have been forbidden for the present "until the proportion of working-class students at the universities will be sufficiently great to counteract the present reactionary influences," to quote one of the leading German authorities. However, even if the standard of education is not in accordance with the best European practices, the enthusiasm and prodigious activity of the authorities have made quite an impression on the German population. Nor should the results be underestimated, particularly in comparison with what the West has done. In the publication of school books, the Eastern zone is ahead of the Western, although this has been achieved at the expense of newsprint.

In the reorganization of medical services, the picture is similar. Former members of the Nazi party have not been entirely banned, but have been compelled to achieve their rehabilitation by work in refugee camps and potential epidemic areas. A zonal scheme has been started, under state control, for full-time factory clinics and polyclinics in urban areas. In view of the shortage of doctors—many of them fled to the Western zones at the end of the war—compulsory powers of direction have been given to the provincial medical authorities to withdraw the residential permit of any recalcitrant doctor. Similarly, the independent nursing services as well as the German Red Cross have been disbanded and replaced by a State Nursing Service (VWF). An attempt has been made at the same time to facilitate medical training at the universities and to provide "refresher courses" for those whose medical education in the German armed services' university training scheme had not been completed by the end of the war.

One of the most significant effects of the Russian occupation can be seen in the new legal system. The administration was faced with a great shortage of judges and lawyers, since the ban on Nazis was most rigidly enforced. A new legal system has been

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

put into operation "to dispense justice on a democratic basis," on the principle that "justice is the step-child of popular democracy." This system gives the central administration for justice substantial powers over the legal hierarchy. In 1946, a judge who gave an unsatisfactory verdict in the trial of some former Nazis was dismissed and conscripted for hard manual labor, at the instigation of the Russian authorities.

Replacements for the old judges have been assured by establishing so-called people's judges *(Volkrichter)*. These are originally chosen from locally prominent citizens nominated by the anti-fascist party-bloc in each province. Each undergoes a short oral examination, including a number of political questions, by the provincial Ministry of Justice. Those who pass are trained at one of five centers in the zone, one per province. The emphasis during these courses is predominantly on criminal law, as civil law is not considered important by the Russians. The courses take eighteen months, after which a further examination is held. Normally only some 25 percent of those originally proposed finally pass the course.

The newly trained lawyers act as assistants to judges for a time, and finally some of them take over the functions of judges themselves. Many lawyers who were pensioned off before 1933 and those few who worked during the Nazi regime without becoming members of the party have been reinstated.

This system of legal training was at first proposed in a much modified form by a number of able lawyers working in the central administration of justice. The system, originally designed as a temporary stop-gap, has, however, been extended so drastically, and political considerations are playing such an ever-increasing role in its operation, that most of the originators of the scheme have left the central administration and have refused to associate themselves with its present policy. One of these officials considers that at the moment only about ten percent of the candidates finally accepted will ever be really suitable to perform their functions.

The organization of labor in the Russian zone is also of considerable importance. There have been repeated drives to enlist skilled and unskilled labor for work in Russia, culminating in "Operation Ossawakim," the most comprehensive transfer of labor to date.

This recruitment of labor has been carried out partly by the Russians themselves in factories and camps, which they directly control, partly by using the German labor organization for purposes of registration and enlistment.

It is believed that some recruiting has also been done in the refugee camps under the control of the central administration for refugees. No exact figures of German labor recruited since the war by the Russians are available, but among technicians and engineers at least 3,000 have probably been recruited and sent to the USSR. As against that, over 200,000 workers with families have been deported to Russia.

Recruiting methods vary. Sometimes a generous contract is offered and the family of the worker is permitted to accompany him. Sometimes there are varying degrees of pressure, such as a period of "house arrest," or simple kidnapping. In the latter case, of course, the eventual destination remains a matter for conjecture; but some persons are believed to have been taken to Russia. The same belief is held regarding a number of political prisoners who have disappeared.

The German labor offices have been used extensively to recruit labor for Soviet undertakings in Germany, chiefly the uranium mines in Saxony. Considerable propaganda has been made in political circles in regard to these; for instance, the mayor of a town in Saxony stated in a speech that every German should be glad to assist Russia to counter the threat of atomic bombs from America. Frequent accidents in the mines show that the work is both strenuous and dangerous. Pressure by the Russians can usually be measured by the number of refugees entering the British and American zones at particular times.

The trade-union movement is strong in the Russian zone, membership being obligatory for the great majority of workers. It is controlled by a central union organization (FDGB), which works closely with the central administration for labor and social welfare. Being centralized and officially unpolitical, the FDGB lends itself to propaganda for Russian policy and, owing to its deceptive appearance as a spontaneous organization of workers, provides the best spearhead for official attacks on the Western powers. The FDGB has also been used as a means of gaining influence among the trade unions in the western zones, where it has been active in calling for a unity party on the lines of the SED.

The leaders of the movement are mostly trade unionists who were active before 1933, among them a number of former members of the small Communist revolutionary trade-union movement (RGO). The larger Christian trade-union movement of the Weimar Republic is represented only

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DRAWINGS BY FRASCONI

by a small minority. The majority of the leading members come from the former Socialist trade unions, and have now joined the SED. As with that party, the main strength of the FDGB is derived from above, not from below. It is not a workers' organization, but an organization for the workers.

As in the Western zones, control of the police was at first placed under the provincial governments. But this led to differences in pay, organization and methods, and made any policy for the entire zone difficult to enforce. The notorious "fourteenth administration" was then set up, in October, 1946. It was designed to do more than just get rid of these differences. It was designated "German Administration for the Interior"; significantly, the customary word "central" was omitted from the title.

From the beginning, its work was kept a close secret; its representatives hardly ever attended the interdepartmental meetings of other administrations. Unlike the others, this administration does not use the public press as a propaganda vehicle. It is concerned not only with the main branches of the German police—the administrative, the general uniformed (ORPO) and the criminal branches—but also with the railway and water police, formerly under the transport administration, and the fire brigade. As part of the criminal police (KRIPO), a branch exists under the title, "Bureau for Occupational Affairs," which is believed to be a future political police in embryo. It is headed by a former KRIPO official who is spoken of as an ardent Communist.

The official reason given for the continued secrecy regarding the work of the police administration is the fact that plans are still in preparation. No doubt it is true that the Russians are not yet prepared to announce the existence of a highly centralized police ministry. But meanwhile, the German police are being used increasingly by the Russians for political arrests, and share the work of guarding some of the internment camps. SED membership is compulsory for most official police appointments. It will therefore be no great surprise if the final organizational plan for the Russian zone includes a ministry for police, with considerable powers and a widely spread influence extending over most spheres of life.

In part, Russian policy in Germany follows closely the policy in Germany's former allies—Hungary and Rumania. It attempts to build administrations favorable to the Soviet Union. This is to be done by popularizing communism and the Soviet Union as its chief exponent (it must not be forgotten that Russia claims the exclusive organization of true socialism); by legislation to bring industry into the hands of the state; by land reform; by establishing a strong central government (in the Eastern zone the accusation of federalism is today as dangerous to the accused as it was in the France of 1793); by propaganda; and by generous use of the term "fascist"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as a weapon for the condemnation of all opponents.

This weapon, which provokes roars of derisive laughter in the democracies, has been greatly underestimated. If anybody is accused of being a fascist, however unjustly, very few dare to come to his defense.

The effects of this policy in Germany should not be discounted. The material position of the working-class, at present, would be no better under any alternative system. Many of the officials in the central administrations and provincial governments do work hard to achieve definite improvements. The atmosphere of enthusiasm among them is by no means wholly hypocritical. The existence of a privileged political class, while arousing envy and disgust, also brings forth opportunist "yes-men," just as the Nazi party did. Most of the SED leaders are fully aware that they would be swept away if a free general election were held, and are anxious to obtain a greater degree of popular support. The emphasis is therefore increasingly on a policy of making themselves more acceptable to the electorate.

This is to be achieved by pointing to the accomplishments, great and small, of the SED in the East as compared with the atmosphere of stagnation in the West. Some of the examples of this which are cited are pure fiction, as, for instance, the continual reports of food exports from the British zone, and the rumor of the universal compulsory sale of German patents to American monopoly capital in the US zone. But denials are not sufficiently strong or numerous to reach the Germans in the Eastern zone.

In pointing with pride to the smoking chimneys of the East, the SED has to admit that many of the biggest and busiest are smoking for the Soviet Union. Russia has to balance economic gains against political damage. In Hungary, Russian economic interests are relatively small and mainly confined to one-sided economic agreements between the two governments. Since these can be "dressed up" to make them palatable, the political policy has been correspondingly more successful. In Germany, this fundamental divergence between economics and politics dominates such purely domestic conflicts as the struggle between central administrations and provincial governments, and between nationalized and private industry.

It has even played its part within the stronghold of the SED and has been responsible for the defection of many a convinced communist: it divides those who desire a Germany organized on communist lines and closely allied to Russia (represented by a number of former "concentration-camp communists") from those who have been in Russia long enough to see everything from the purely Russian point of view. They would like to have Germany put entirely at the disposal of the USSR, perhaps even incorporated into the Soviet Union.

This duality in Russia's attitude must be resolved finally into one single policy, whether Germany becomes united or not. If Russia's present policy of economic exploitation remains predominant, a long occupation by the USSR is probable, with a puppet government even less popular than the present one. Germany would remain divided between East and West, unless the Western allies are prepared to agree to a unified Germany by acknowledging permanent Russian interests in the East and the possibility they may be extended even farther.

Since it is practically certain that the Western allies will make no such agreement, there is no hope of reuniting Germany, politically and economically, in the near future. For both geographical and political reasons, it is unlikely that eastern Germany will be incorporated into the USSR. Yet the occupation will certainly continue until conditions satisfactory to Russia, including the guarantee of her interests, are agreed to.

If Russia decides to emphasize her political rather than her economic interests, what will become of those economic interests? She might, of course, pretend to transfer ownership to "reliable" Germans. She might, alternatively, use these economic interests as bargaining points in a general agreement with the Western powers. In exchange, she might get preferential treatment in trade, or the right to purchase at low prices specified quantities of German raw materials or manufactures. Whatever form it took, the bargain would be a stiff one.

If such a bargain were struck, there would be a chance for Germany's economic and political unity—especially if the West agreed to a central government predominantly under Russian control. We must not forget that Russia already has the nucleus of such a central German government, with two years' experience—something for which the Western powers have no adequate equivalent.

Since, however, Russia has not yet reconciled her two opposing policies, she has not brought forward any detailed, comprehensive German policy, either zonal or national in character. As long as she fails to do this, we may safely assume that the Russians do not want Germany to be united either politically or economically, and will resist any movement in that direction.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

"WHAT THOU LOVEST WELL REMAINS"

by Robert Fitzgerald

WE FIND OURSELVES, again, in debt to New Directions, now that the latest cantos of Ezra Pound are available in a volume to themselves, printed from the same fonts as the preceding cantos, and also in a collected edition (*The Pisan Cantos*, $2.75; and *The Cantos of Ezra Pound*, $5). This publication is admirable—and far from being simply an admirable act of piety. The poet remains in St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, adjudged too ill in mind to stand trial for treason; and it is easy to look for and discover in the poetry evidence of his illness. That evidence is almost certainly there in quantities strongly confirmatory for the diagnostician. As for the average, untuned reader, long since put off by Pound's polylingual reveries and idiosyncratic structure, he may not see any greater reward for patience in the new cantos than in the old. But this is not inevitable nor desirable.

Critics, and most creators when acting as critics, tend to overestimate the role of schematization and design in the production of works of art. All artists recognize, I think, that much is always given, or formed out of thin air as if by some independent demon, while the materials are being worked or played with, and that no matter with what clarity the form is seen beforehand, the object as it finally issues represents the lucky catch as much as it represents the intention. Pound's cantos are the work of a man for whom the thing given has, in general, had the upper hand over deliberation, a man whose long isolation in Rapallo and unfretful assurance as to his own technical power have allowed unusual freedom in moving here or there, up or down, forward or backward (like a swimmer in clear water) among verbal or substantial intimations and *seizing* them, putting them down, when a more hesitant—or sluggish—artist would have left them in the air.

Pound was born to be a workman in verse, and, if it is manipulation you ask, there is proof of many years' tinkering in his successive recastings of the great Cavalcanti canzon, *Donna mi prega*, into English, of which the last version now stands as Canto XXXVI. The detail is often worked, and worked very hard in some instances. But in compositional art, in the whole affair of placing, accenting, subordinating and linking details, there has apparently been operating something that could be called "the principle of the plenum": all the intimations have had to be got in. Aware of his detractors, he once wrote of his prose structure, "I am not proceeding according to Aristotelian logic but according to the ideogrammic method of first heaping together the necessary components of thought. None of these 'incoherent' or contradictory facts can be omitted." This applies perfectly to the cantos.

Once you start thinking, however, you are irrevocably committed to logic; you think well or ill according as you think coherently or not; and so one notices in this statement Pound's perhaps involuntary use of the word "first." He is saying, in effect, that he has undertaken a labor that other men would regard as purely preliminary; for him it has been an end in itself. And why should it not be an end in itself? The ability to think consecutively, to dispose ideas in a really progressive order, is more uncommon than most people suppose; the appearance of doing so can be faked, and constantly is, with the aid of a little rhetoric. Pound was being comparatively honest; he merely dignified his own limitation of ability or interest as "ideogrammic method"; and it is proper, after all, for a man to insist on the dignity of what he does. Moreover, nobody questions that in his notes Pound *did* hit on a good many "necessary components of thought."

All that must be said is that he rarely went on to think very well about them, and that this is a great defect in critical or argumentative prose. It is not merely that he thought badly enough to behave fantastically. We have lived in a time when no subject was thoroughly learned, no argument pursued until it was settled; and Pound abetted this tendency. But is the defect of the prose likewise a great defect in the cantos? The answer is Yes, if that is what you demand; but it is not a wise demand to make.

The fine artist is drawn to the impossible as the mystic is drawn to the inconceivable. It has been said that it is impossible to use a logical language, like English, as if it were a picture language, like Chinese, or as if it were an abstract musical medium. It has also been said that it is impossible to write, in English, Homeric hexameters. Perhaps Pound's disregard of the first kind of impossibility may be illuminated by his triumph over the second.

"I have never read half a page of Homer," he has declared, "without finding melodic invention. . . . There are, mathematically, 64 basic general forms [of the so-called dactyllic hexameter] . . . a variety which will naturally accommodate a vastly greater amount of real speech than . . . ti tum ti tum ti tum ti tum. . . . The legal number of syllables in a classic hexameter varied from 12 to 18." Here, on a silver platter, is a key to much of the verse in the cantos, and especially to the Pisan cantos, in which the hexameter is practically a norm—established, I will go so far as to say, in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the first line: "The enórmous trágedy of the dréam in the peásant's bént shoúlders." Taking this basic six-beat pattern, actually three and three, Pound has modulated it *ad infinitum*, dropping the second half line, echoing it, slowing, speeding or exploding the component feet, suspending and delaying the completion of the measure by parenthetical inserts, relieving it with the familiar English pentameter (blank verse) line, but returning often enough to the long line to keep it alive in the reader's ear:

> And when the morning sun lit up
> the shelves and battalions
> of the West, cloud over cloud
> Old Ez folded his blankets.
> Neither Eos nor Hesperus has
> suffered wrong at my hands.

Everything here is typical: the evocation of brightness, the sun in the air; the suggestion in "cloud over cloud" of nature's own plenum or plenitude; the swift astringency of sense and hidden pleasure in the "Old Ez" hemistich ("folded his" echoes "Old Ez"); the Greek names for dawn light and evening star and the artist's pride stated at the end. Of such details, minutely melodic, is the long web woven.

But few of the details are as simple in their allusiveness as this one. Not only in melody, in shifts of key, but in shifts of reference also, they require at almost every point an agility in the reader's mind like the agility of a performer reading a difficult score. And this is, indeed, the nature of difficulty in the cantos. To read at sight a sonata of Mozart's, a pianist must have trained his eyes and mind and fingers; he must be equipped for the exertion. Both the system of notation and the instrument are standard, and the equipment can be acquired by hard work in a conservatory. But the equipment needed for a perfect reading of Pound's cantos is, to say the least, much less accessible.

Latin, Greek, Italian, French and Chinese are requisites if the cantos are even to be read aloud correctly, and few of us live with all these languages. This, however, is not the poet's fault. In an earlier canto he represented John Adams as saying, circa 1820:

> I begged Otis to print it (the Greek prosody)
> He said there were no Greek types in America,
> and if there were, were no typesetters cd/ use 'em.

To judge by the errors in the Greek passages of the cantos as printed, Otis could say the same today; and it seems less excusable that in the first few pages of the Pisan cantos the Latin *veneno* is printed *veleno, nox animae* is printed *nux animae,* and "Thames bank" becomes "Thomas bank." Aside from the language difficulties, in Pound's *plenum* there are so many data of an elliptical and evanescent kind that it seems impossible in some cases to discover just what the "necessary components" are. In other cases it is hard to see what interest or value they may have apart from the sheer fact of their presence in the poet's mind or on the page.

But, even as I complain, I insist that we ought to be grateful for what we have, mindful that if it were otherwise we wouldn't have it. A very imperfect reading can nevertheless be rewarding. On the whole, too, the latest cantos are plainer sailing than many of their predecessors.

A "sailing around" or "periplum" is one of the descriptions the writer offers for his work. In all eleven of the Pisan cantos the writer speaks from an Allied detention camp in Italy in 1945, within sight of the tower of Pisa. It is late summer going into early autumn; he is quartered in a tent, and a colored American soldier has made him a table to write on. The form of his writing is fluid notation and revery. There are many themes and motifs and echoes, some of them only recognizable if you are familiar with preceding cantos.

The poet identifies himself with Odysseus, as he has before, but this time it is in his role as "Ou Tis" (Greek for No Man), and he speaks of himself as "a man on whom the sun has gone down." He is, again, Odysseus among the shades of the heroes; "Lordly men are to earth o'ergiven"; he summons to mind Ford, Yeats, Joyce and other "men of unusual genius" whom he has known. Like a grasshopper (another early image for himself) he flies back and forth in time (for "Time is not, time is the evil, beloved") amid scenes and ideas from the past.

Against "capitalism" he repeats the quotation from John Adams that pleased him two decades (of cantos) ago: "Every bank of discount is downright corruption"; and he has words also for the corruption of fascism: "jactancy, vanity, peculation to the ruin of 20 years' labor."

He addresses a spider, a cat and a butterfly, his companions in captivity; he touches lightly on his age and fatigue, expatriate for so many years in a country he has loved and seen defeated, with "stone after stone of beauty cast down." Like Odysseus, he tells of his wanderings, but obliquely, in another strand of discourse, taken up, dropped, and taken up again: New York of 40 years ago, Spain, Provence, Paris and London: beautiful place names, odd images, fragments of anecdote, and endearing personal memories:

> So that leaving America I brought with me $80
> and England a letter of Thomas Hardy's
> and Italy one eucalyptus pip. . . .

for he is leaving Italy, and knows it:

> As a lone ant from a broken ant hill
> from the wreckage of Europe, ego scriptor. . . .

So impersonal is this polylingual surface, and so brisk the poet's taste, that the reader does not at once realize that in certain passages Pound is for the first time expressing a personal desolation and a kind of repentance, that is enormously moving:

> Tard, tres tard, je t'ai connue, la Tristesse
> I had been hard as youth sixty years. . . .

and lines of this stamp, recurring, come to a culmination in a long pas-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sage, at the end of Canto LXXXI, which will stand as one of the peaks of all Pound's writing, and of which I quote only the noble beginning:

What thou lovest well remains,
the rest is dross
What thou lov'st well shall not be
reft from thee
What thou lov'st well is thy true
heritage
Whose world, or mine or theirs
or is it of none?

First came the seen, then thus the
palpable
Elysium, though it were in the
halls of hell.
What thou lovest well is thy true
heritage.

The ant's a centaur in his dragon
world.
Pull down thy vanity, it is not man
Made courage, or made order, or
made grace.
Pull down thy vanity, I say pull
down . . . .

"It is not man made courage or made order or made grace." If I read these lines aright in their whole context, the reason Pound began calling his poetry "cantos" 20 years ago becomes clearer. In perception or vision he would mount to a *paradiso* as his master, Dante, did; and he observes that "le paradis n'est pas artificiel": it exists. Well, the moral universe of the *Divine Comedy* was orthodox, graded, and public, firmly conceived to its uttermost corner; and this of Pound's is quite a different thing. But at their least valuation I submit that these cantos in which light and air—and song—move so freely are more exhilarating poetic sketch books, "Notes from the Upper Air," than can be found elsewhere in our literature.

WORLD CONTAGION

THE PLAGUE, by Albert Camus. Translated from the French by Stuart Gilbert (Alfred A. Knopf; $3).

IN FRENCH or in English this is a first-rate novel. A sober, tautly written account of a raging bubonic plague in the North African city of Oran, it creates a situation of soul-revealing crisis, and peoples that situation with very real and well differentiated characters. The central figure is Dr. Rieux, a scientist and humanist who struggles with the apathy of the municipal authorities on the one hand and the force of the epidemic on the other. The Jesuit priest, Paneloux, regards the plague as a punishment visited upon a wicked population, and his arguments seem irrefutable to the pompous magistrate, M. Othon, until his own innocent son is struck down. Rambert, a journalist from the French mainland caught in Oran by chance, spends his time trying to escape the quarantine until, fired by example, he begins fighting the enemy while waiting to cross the closed city gates. Joseph Grand, the mousey town clerk, even gives up his pathetic literary endeavors to join in the apparently hopeless fight. And Tarrou, the objective philosopher who feels deeply involved in all men's suffering, sides with the victims while doing what he can to relieve their plight.

In telling their story of brave resistance, Albert Camus has accomplished a perfect achievement which, despite the unrelieved grimness of the theme, contains great variety, gay humor and stimulating philosophy. The technique he has employed is that of an apparently flat narration by one of those most deeply involved in the story; but by incorporating into his account conversations, the entire sermon in the cathedral (which belongs beside the brilliant sermon in Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist*) and extracts from Tarrou's diary, the narrator gives color and drama to what would otherwise be a monotone.

Even without the epigraph from Defoe about representing "one kind of imprisonment by another," we should see *The Plague* as an obvious allegory of war and the enemy occupation of Europe with its common suffering: the anguish of separation from loved ones, the effort to escape through illegal dealings with a band of outlaws, the restrictive laws, the formation of isolation camps, the black market, the people's faith in prophecies, the exhortations of the radio from outside countries, and even the stench of incinerated corpses. As in that occupation, as in any scourge forced upon men, the majority remain passively apathetic while a few noble souls organize resistance, and isolated individuals, considering themselves outside the common lot, seek to elude both suffering and responsibility.

On both the factual and the allegorical plane, Camus is here describing what he knows. Born in Algiers, he is familiar with Oran; as a vigorous underground newspaper editor in France between 1941 and 1944, he also knows enemy occupation and counter-resistance at first hand. But Camus is too thoughtful to be satisfied with so patent a parallel. Rather than allegory, he establishes by implication an equivalence between two scourges of man—plague and war, one of which remains in the background. The real allegory is even more universal. A hint of it can be found in the Jesuit's allusion to original sin, in Tarrou's division of the world into victims and torturers, and in the strange and suggestive character of Cottard. As the plague, still undeclared, is but beginning, Cottard tries to commit suicide and we sense that he has a crime on his conscience which makes him fear the police. When the suffering around him becomes more general, he blossoms forth into geniality, commenting cheerfully that "everyone's in the same boat" and that "the one way of making people hang together is to give 'em a good spell of plague."

With the waning of the plague Cottard returns to his individual worries and goes mad. But the ultimate key to Camus' intention lies in the final conversation with the old asthma patient who, having spent the past fifteen years in bed, claims that he alone knows how to live. He is annoyed that people now think they deserve some credit for having come through the plague unscathed: "You'd almost think they expected to be given medals for it. But what does that mean—'plague'? Just life, no more than that."

The Plague, then, is a parable of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

life itself: another form of imprisonment, Camus would surely be willing to say, for is not man imprisoned in his body and imprisoned in his fate? No matter how absurd or meaningless our fate may be, we still must accept it and play our role. There is no refuge in the fact that one doesn't belong here, in the belief that God has planned everything with a purpose, in a permanent attitude of ironic detachment, in a certainty of one's superiority, or in an acceptance of complete moral anarchy. Each of these viewpoints is figured by at least one character, and all the characters, and all of us, are caught in "the plague" together.

That Camus has managed such a transposition to the universal solely by means of subtle resonances and overtones, while apparently piling up a quiet accumulation of the commonplace, explains why *The Plague* has more general appeal than his first novel, *The Stranger,* and why this young writer with so small a production (two novels, two plays, a philosophical essay and much superior journalism) has caused so much critical ink to flow. JUSTIN O'BRIEN

ALBANY REPORTER

POLITICS IN THE EMPIRE STATE, by Warren Moscow (Alfred A. Knopf; $3).

AMERICAN presidential history shows how vital Empire State politics is to the entire country; yet the governmental apparatus of New York, with the practical stresses and strains under which it somehow operates, are not very well known, even to New Yorkers. Warren Moscow, a skillful New York *Times* reporter, who covered the capitol at Albany for seven years, has now dealt with the subject in thoughtful and objective detail.

Politics in the Empire State is chiefly a practical handbook, covering the political machines, the position of the bosses, the way the state government is operated, the political parties both large and small, the lobbies and pressure groups, the conflicts between cities and counties, upstate and down, and, with commendable frankness, the part played in the state by religion, race and nationality. Although the author uses personal anecdote effectively to accent what he has to say, his work is in the main a careful treatise on just how a cumbersome but reasonably workmanlike state apparatus functions, with its strength and weaknesses convincingly and quietly presented.

To the lay reader, however, the place occupied by personalities amid this machinery is naturally the most important part of the book. It was from this political prize ring that Franklin D. Roosevelt, Al Smith and now Thomas E. Dewey emerged. Candidate Dewey inescapably dominates *Politics in the Empire State*, and Moscow's cool portrait, neither a defense nor an attack, is the more impressive because it is incidental to what the author has to say, and not its intended central subject. The book was completed before Dewey was nominated for the presidency, and it is purely as Governor of New York and as the successor of Roosevelt, Smith and Herbert Lehman that the author studies him.

As such, it is an oddly devastating picture; indeed, for all the dispassion of Moscow's investigation into the personality and performances of the current Governor of New York, Tom Dewey emerges as one of the least attractive men that has ever seemed on the point of becoming President. The personality revealed is ruthless, machinelike and curiously unhuman, with no warmth or charm and with the soul of an arrogant and relentless prosecutor.

When Moscow considers him as a public servant, the effect is not much happier. Even Dewey's foes have accepted the belief that, whatever his defects, he is a brilliant administrator. Yet Moscow declares flatly that, while he has been more efficient than FDR, he does not in this respect even approach the stature of Smith and Lehman. It surprises Moscow that the Democrats "just rolled over and played dead" when Dewey began to emerge on the national stage. He writes:

> They let Dewey go into the 1944 presidential and 1946 gubernatorial campaigns without even challenging his claims of "tax reduction." Actually, his administration collected millions of dollars more in taxes than any administration in history.

Moscow also recalls that, while Dewey is given credit for New York's enactment of the first state FEPC law, he vetoed such a measure during the 1944 session of the legislature.

The odd way in which the Democrats have consistently aided in the rise of Tom Dewey strikes the author as interesting political irony. Lehman, following an austere policy of appointing special prosecutors from the ranks of the opposing political party, selected Dewey to investigate the rackets in the state, an assignment which first brought fame to the relatively inexperienced "bright young man." (Governor Dewey himself has studiously picked for such posts men belonging to his own party and carefully subservient to him.) In 1942, Jim Farley in his hatred for Roosevelt thrust on New York State Democrats as their candidate for Governor John J. Bennett, an advocate of Franco in Spain and a man looked upon with hostility by organized labor. Bennett's nomination split the Democrats and assured the election of Dewey.

There is other valuable information in *Politics in the Empire State.* When Moscow is explaining the functioning of government, saying a good word for the popular election of judges, exposing the frailties of the Gallup Poll or pointing out the type of man Hearst used to back in his more active political days in New York, he is almost as striking as when he contemplates Dewey. RICHARD WATTS JR.

PILGRIMS TO DUBLIN

JAMES JOYCE: TWO DECADES OF CRITICISM. Edited by Seon Givens. (The Vanguard Press; $5).

THIS BOOK is a selection of nineteen essays on James Joyce, several of which are now published for the first time. It opens with personal reminiscences by Eugene Jolas, and closes with the tribute T. S. Eliot published

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at the time of Joyce's death. Several pieces supply background information, Irish-national and personal. In the main, however, the essays follow the method of textual exegesis. There is a piece on Joyce's play, "Exiles," and one on "Dubliners." Most of the attention goes to the three novels. That is understandable, but inexplicably no notice is taken of Joyce's poems.

Like the body of Joyce criticism, the first aim is to make *sense* of its subject. Not in the manner of apologetics —the time for such conciliation is happily far past—but literally in elucidating fully admitted difficulties. These obstacles to understanding his work were first admitted by Joyce himself, who threw off numerous incidental hints about the structure and references in his books and granted his imprimatur to Stuart Gilbert's key to *Ulysses*. Nor did he underestimate the task of comprehension when he remarked, however facetiously, that he expected an effort in reading equal to his effort in writing—the work of a lifetime.

It is an effort which critics seem willing to make for him as for no other modern writer. Even more than Eliot, Kafka, Rilke or Gide, Joyce is, I think, the hero of modern criticism. Not only does he welcome the critic's office and provide him with ample employment, but he himself explicitly shares many of the critic's concerns: the classical and folk myths of our culture, ritual, philology, esthetics and the figure of the artist as hero.

In this latter instance, he served both ways. "He put himself into all his books," writes Frank Budgen. Specifically, of course, he wrote autobiographically of the artist in his first novel. In addition, he presented in his own person the living embodiment of his ideal. Thus, it might be said, he provided his admirers with the liturgy for his own worship. This is particularly recognized by James T. Farrell, who praises "the living force of his example, his tireless labor, despite his failing eyesight, on major projects, his intensely creative activity, his dignity and his artistic daring."

What emerges (despite certain classical allegations which would condemn Joyce as an iconoclast) is the figure of a great traditional writer, as well as grand innovator, "an immensely educated European, almost obsessively conscious of the literary traditions which created him" (Philip Toynbee). And not only conscious of them, but artistically aware of their place in his own purposes. "The desire to build on a time-proved basis is peculiarly characteristic of Joyce" (Stuart Gilbert). The relation of Joyce's erudition to his creative activity is described by William Troy when he writes that Joyce "seeks his salvation not in any escape from the present but in a transcendence of the present through the past."

The most apparent formative influences in Joyce are those which connect him with the traditions of European culture: his Catholicity, his education by the Jesuits, and his erudition, literary and linguistic. Concerning the first two of these influences, Farrell says: "From his considerable reading in the literature of the church, the boy gained not only a sense of the past but also a sense of an ordered inner world and of a systematized *other* world." While Vivian Mercier contributes the observation that "his intellectual virtues and vices are both the products of Jesuit training."

And beyond these traditional elements, but related to them, Edmund Wilson notes that "the constant human subject" in Joyce's writing (particularly explored in *Finnegans Wake*) "is the nexus of intimate relationships involved in a family situation."

Any selection such as this must suggest serious omissions, particularly in the face of inclusions of doubtful importance. But it is as much as can be expected of such a book that, as Miss Givens claims for them, most of the essays "lead the reader where good criticism should—back to the books which evoked it." JOHN FARRELLY

THEATRE: Plays from Paris

If ALBERT CAMUS' two plays "Caligula" and "Cross Purpose" (New Directions; $3) were staged in America, I feel fairly certain that the greater part of the public and the press would describe them as cruel and senseless. Cruel these plays obviously are, since they are woven of murder and death, but they are senseless only from a peculiarly American standpoint. With us, only two kinds of plays are easily understood: the play that aims at nothing but "entertainment"—either through a laugh or a shudder or a smirk—and the propaganda play that teaches us a lesson, such as that race prejudice is wicked or that we all share social responsibility.

In the second category the lesson must be of an affirmative or constructive nature. Hardly any American play is conceivable—except possibly as farce —which might suggest that it is better to be bad than good. When the point of a play is tainted by a negative inference, the American audience will generally find it not only unpleasant but senseless. A play like "A Streetcar Named Desire," for example, pleases Broadway because it is strong (frank, racy, violent) entertainment, but only a minority sees any sense ("lesson") in it, and of this minority many dislike it because they believe its sense to be of a destructive kind.

One reason for this is that Americans rarely conceive of a work of art—particularly a play—as a natural outgrowth of a particular environment. They think of a play as something willed by its author. What reason would a man have to will something unpleasant and discouraging unless he were either perverse or crazy?

The French are different. They accept everything they have experienced —including the vile—as part of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fullness of life which they find healthy to contemplate consciously and overtly. When the First World War was over and some of the younger generation realized that the great holocaust had been a contradiction to everything they had been brought up to respect as culture, religion, civilization, they defied culture, religion and civilization with the nonsense of Dadaism. Since the upright world, the Dadaists said, is a malevolent sham, our revenge and pleasure shall be to turn that world upside down.

Though dazed and shocked, the Frenchman after 1918 still preserved a few old-time illusions. Dadaism struck the ordinary Frenchman as a sickness of youth. For all its terrifying grimaces, Dadaism was still fun. There was nothing funny to any Frenchman in the upheaval of the Second World War. Less bloody for the French than the previous war, the psychological impact of the second war was far greater. The younger generation today—of which Albert Camus is one of the most articulate voices—is in no mood for kidding.

"Caligula" and "Cross Purpose" are reflections of a state of mind that the French public shares with the author. The Roman emperor commits outrageous crimes in the first of these plays in response to the ferocious absurdity of the universe. "If the Treasury has paramount importance, life has none. . . . Since money is the only thing that counts, men should set no value in their lives or anyone else's." Scorn is Caligula's only consolation, and the honest poet in the play—a victim of Caligula's cruelty—is so aware of the causes for the evil in the Emperor that he "can never, never again take anybody's side."

In "Cross Purpose" we are introduced into an atmosphere (somewhere in "Central Europe") in which crime is committed from "force of habit"; a mother kills her long-absent son with the aid of her daughter. This is due to a "misunderstanding": men have forgotten to understand and to proclaim that they are all brothers. Humanity only has a choice between "the mindless happiness of stones" and death; wisdom consists in realizing that "beyond the frontiers of pain lies a splendid, sterile happiness."

Horrible? Yes, but this is what a whole generation has been forced to feel. This exists. Salvation can come only from facing the facts, facing the facts before the salve of a solution is found. It is because Camus is a moralist that he has written these "immoral" plays. Because he is a humanist, a "shameful tenderness" emerges from them. Because he is a Frenchman, "Caligula" is written with an inflamed rhetoric that reminds one of Racine, and "Cross Purpose" with the grave intensity of a theatric Pascal. We need hardly ask ourselves for the moment whether these plays are "good"; it is enough that they are fascinating.

HAROLD CLURMAN

MUSIC: Novelties on the West Coast

THE MUSICAL SPOTLIGHT was turned on Southern California during the last week of July. In the Philharmonic Auditorium, where the watchful Baptist owners of the building will not let the Ballet Russe present so wanton an item as "Frankie and Johnny," the wholesome Los Angeles Civic Light Opera Association presented the world première of "Magdalena," the first contribution to the North American stage by Brazil's leading composer, Heitor Villa-Lobos. A few miles west, in the Hollywood Bowl, Eugene Ormandy led a huge chorus, augmented orchestra and seven soloists in the first West Coast performance of Gustav Mahler's apocalyptic Eighth Symphony.

"Magdalena" represented a daring cultural outreach for the Civic Light Opera Association, whose fame rests largely upon "Song of Norway," a sticky pastiche of Grieg melodies it pieced together a few seasons ago. Described in the program as "a musical adventure," "Magdalena" purports to picture native life among a tribe called the Muzos, who are said to live and work the mines along the Magdalena River in Colombia.

My acquaintance with the operetta is limited to the dress rehearsal, for I left town, not unwillingly, before the big opening, which was attended in force by Hollywood musicians and motion-picture notables. But the dress rehearsal was enough to indicate that the producers have cooked up a crude mulligan stew, which will need a radically altered recipe in order to appeal to the New York palate, toward which it is to be thrust in late September.

Villa-Lobos has provided an ample supply of sensuous South American cross-rhythms and pseudo-folk tunes based on dance forms ranging from the minuet and the waltz to what I, in ignorance of its right name, would call the samba. The orchestra is slick and sonorous, and effective passages of choral counterpoint abound. The harmony, sometimes in two keys at once, is more dissonant than any Broadway has heard. The score falls between two stools: it makes sterner demands than Broadway's listeners are used to accepting, yet it fails to reach the concert-hall level of serious interest and value.

But the music lays at least some claim to distinction; the book is a horror. Attributed to Frederick Hazlitt Brennan and Homer Curran (one of the producers and backers), it is pretentiously moralistic, clumsy in presentation, lifeless in characterization, and chock-full of the tired, humorless bromides already familiar in every creaking, ancient operetta.

More than $300,000 was put into Howard Bay's fantastic settings with glass plastic trees and mountains made of real sponges, Irene Sharaff's modish but meaningless costumes, Jack Cole's orgiastic dances (considerably below his best standard), and all of the rest of a heavy, lavish production.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dorothy Sarnoff, John Raitt and Irra Petina are the capable singing leads. Gerhard Pechner, the Metropolitan's Beckmesser in "Die Meistersinger," here encountered as a kind old padre, makes extended observations about Faith and Love.

Of the Mahler symphony, I can again report only on the basis of a rehearsal. Mahler wrote the Eighth Symphony as a sequel to his magnificent Second, or "Resurrection," Symphony. Though the Eighth is bigger—it was once nicknamed the "Symphony of a Thousand," because of the huge force it requires—it is far inferior to the Second. The text of the two lengthy movements is an odd hodgepodge, the first being the Latin hymn, "Veni, Creator Spiritus," and the second, the closing passage of Goethe's "Faust." Musically the thematic ideas are sterile, few in number and repetitious, and they depend too largely upon ingenious manipulation of the parts and impressive combinations of sound rather than on the continuous flow of fresh and arresting ideas. Nevertheless, it is an important document in the career of a composer who is each year held in higher esteem, and audiences have a right to form their own judgments about it.

The Eighth Symphony had been heard previously in only three American cities—Chicago, Philadelphia and New York. The Hollywood performance required long-range planning and the formation of a civic chorus to spend a year learning the difficult parts. The performance was a mark of Ormandy's artistic integrity, for he drove the project through despite the fact that most of the Bowl programs are commercial (José Iturbi, Gershwin night, M-G-M night, and so on). At the rehearsal the manager went about expressing publicly his disgust at the waste of money on so boring and unpopular an enterprise.

In the one actual performance I did hear at the Hollywood Bowl I was impressed by the enlivening effect of Ormandy's discipline upon a second-rate body of players (the Los Angeles Philharmonic, without some of its best men). CECIL SMITH

RADIO: The Network Sees Red

WITH THE STAGE set by weeks of anticipation and the publicity of conflicting rumors, the ABC network's full-hour documentary on the most stylish controversy of the season—"Communism—US Brand"—was finally broadcast on the evening of August 2, and then again on Sunday, August 8. It went on the air opportunely with the resumption of the Thomas committee hearings.

ABC's decision to do communism up brown was made as far back as early last spring. Having had considerable, and quite laudable, experience with documentaries, the network executives knew that the first job was to find a writer. Just any writer would not do. He had to be neither Communist nor too obviously anti; he had to be "objective," yet able to recognize a menace when one was dragged across his path. In short, as the *New Yorker* put it when ABC's hope of finding this writer was at ebb, they "had counted on doing business with orderly vacuums."

But at the moment when the *New Yorker* was raising its top hat in a salute to radio writers, ABC had already won its battle. A writer had been procured, and one with a great reputation in radio.

Morton Wishengrad has been mentioned here often for his writing on

"A triumph of narrative genius, character insight, and human understanding." —THOMAS SUGRUE, *N. Y. Herald Tribune*

"An extremely moving and daring love story." —MILTON MERLIN, *Los Angeles Times*

"An exciting and intensely moving story, the finest that Greene has written." —*The Atlantic Monthly*

"A brilliant performance in the art of novel-writing." —ROGER PIPPETT, *N. Y. Star*

GRAHAM GREENE

The HEART OF THE MATTER

Book-of-the-Month Club Selection

THE VIKING PRESS *At all booksellers* $3.00

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ACTORS

to form workshop and permanent theatre group. Write fully aims, reason for joining, etc. Box 141, The New Republic.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES. $1.51 carton Postpaid. Insured. Minimum order 5. Send check, money order: P. X. SALES, Box 335, Newark, DELAWARE.

CHILD CARE

IS THERE A RANCH or farm home which needs complete care & supervision of children by mature, responsible, cultured young woman beginning September? College background, good housekeeping, adept riding, swimming. Excellent references. Happy surroundings important. Kindly answer in detail. Address: Box 138, The New Republic.

FARMS & ACREAGE

BERKSHIRE Farm AGENCY, East Chatham, N. Y. Farms and estates. Massachusetts-New York. Berkshires (Tanglewood Country). Consulting broker for organizations.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kaufer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors; psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, or mail. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, German, Russian, by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. Save time, work, money. Linguaphone Correspondence Courses are available to Veterans under G. I. *BILL OF RIGHTS.* Send for FREE book. State if G. I. Linguaphone Institute, 86 RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

PART-TIME SERVICES

EXPERIENCED researcher, writer, graduate student wants part-time work tackling tough problems. PLaza 3-8990 or Box 130. The New Republic.

POSITIONS WANTED

PHYSICAL-CHEMISTRY TEACHER, retired, alert, seeks connection involving social implications of science. Address: Box 142, The New Republic.

SOCIAL WORK GRADUATE (Tulane), experienced administration, community organization, case-and-group work, research, wants position immediately. Box 137, New Republic.

M.A. MUSICOLOGY Columbia, Soprano soloist would like to teach music history and appreciation, voice, theory in small college. Eagler to organize choral groups, establish close contact with students. Box 140, New Republic.

RESEARCH

COMPLETE RESEARCH SERVICES in the fields of psychology, sociology, economics. Preparation of articles, speeches, 25 years experience. E. P. *Hillpern, 10 East 78th* Street, New York City 21.

WALLACE PORTRAIT

RECENT INFORMAL portrait of HENRY WALLACE by Alexander Alland. Original print—ready for framing. Postpaid—$10.00. Send check to: Alland, R. F. D. No. 1, Brewster, N. Y.

Classified Advertising

Per word, once 20¢
Per word 6 times 19¢
Per word 13 times 17¢

Advertising Department

NEW REPUBLIC

NBC's "The Eternal Light," and always with admiration. For the first three years of that great program's life, he carried the writing burden at least 39 weeks a year, and because of his labors radio listening was enriched.

ABC was inspired when it picked Wishengrad for the communism documentary. He hates communism with the wholeheartedness of a Tom Clark, and was able to adapt his skill and experience accordingly. The result was not objective, but it was scholarly.

The network did not stop with the hire of Wishengrad. It also engaged Dr. Robert M. MacIver, professor of Political Philosophy and Government at Columbia University, as consultant. I am sure he checked, if indeed he did not dig up, those references and footnotes that gave a sound of authenticity to the show whenever Lenin was quoted, or the Communist Party's manual on organization *circa* 1935. I am positive, therefore, without further research, that the program cited Lenin accurately, if out of context, when an actor portrayed the Bolshevik leader as saying: "For us, morality is subordinated to the class struggle." What Wishengrad forgot to point out, and MacIver apparently overlooked, is the fact that the radicals have no monopoly on making the ends justify the means. One did not expect a network owner to line up with the Left. One might have expected it to give at least a clue to the other side of the picture.

But the opponent never got a break. He was propped up, pummeled from the first gong, torn apart by every technique known to radio and then pointed to as a miserable weakling. Martin Andrews, the man who directed ABC's last and admirable documentary, "V.D.," was in charge of the production. The leads were carried by two of radio's best actors, Norman Rose and Joseph Julian, backed by a cast fully as competent. David Broekman, one of the three or four leading maestros of the musical "bridge," that harmonic span which punctuates the cues in dramatic radio, ties the episodes, sets the mood and provides the atmosphere, composed and conducted the music. In the first 60 seconds of this 60-minute tour of duty, Broekman established an emotional fabric on which multipotent goblins gyrated in a danse macabre. It was terrifying. So was the entire production.

Radio brags of its fairness to all points of view on controversial issues —a boast not unrelated to the legal provisions requiring it to observe at least a modicum of moderation. Assuming that ABC does not like communism, I could still have seen the possibility of alloting 10 minutes of the program's 60 to the Communists' own claims, an equal amount of time to the openly rabid side of Red-baiting, and the major part of the show to a temperate evaluation of the clashing viewpoints. But that's not what the deal involved.

The straw protagonist was a slimy, scheming comrade who at one point traced the hierarchy directly from his own ruthless rule over his immediate stooges to the Kremlin. Within the first 10 minutes, the little bureaucrat's disciple, recruited from the ranks of the ne'er-do-wells, took an oath of allegiance four times by actual count, each time to the Soviet Union. Just to make sure that the point did not escape those listeners who might have tuned in after the half-hour station break, the black mass was repeated once more at five minutes past the middle interval. When he wasn't raising his right hand, this tool was horning in on labor unions, sucking innocents into "fronts," and otherwise disporting himself in the manner made famous by Martin Dies. Despite his enthusiasm for treachery, he disappeared before the hour was up. The program did not say specifically that he had been bumped off. Maybe he was only sent to the Siberian uranium mines.

I don't think the skies have fallen. I don't think ABC will never do a fair documentary again. I think MacIver, like the alienist who testifies for the defense, may return to his private practice and still be chaste. But I do think radio writing has suffered a loss. I don't see how Wishengrad can ever hold up his head again. SAUL CARSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOVIES: The Good German

THE FIRST FILM made in Berlin (in the Russian sector) after the war was "Murderers Among Us," completed about 18 months ago and now being shown in New York. It is a German investigation into the subject of guilt —an investigation in which, as far as you can see, the Russians made no attempt to participate—and the result is so wide of the mark as to be frightening.

The important word of the title is "among." If it had been called "The Murderer Within Us" the implication, and the picture, would have been quite different. It might then at least have looked at the problem instead of evading it.

What this film does is to equate the moral problem of Germany with bringing the overt criminal to book. A former Wehrmacht doctor, discovering that his old superior, an officer who engaged in mass reprisal executions, is still alive and thriving, undertakes to hunt him down. Thus, he feels, the scales of justice will be somewhat balanced and thus he can rid himself of the hysterical revulsion against humanity that has made of him a drunken outcast.

On two occasions the doctor has his enemy backed into a corner with a pistol at his stomach, and both times fate intervenes. Whereupon he bows to the inevitable and decides that the only solution is to turn the miscreant over to the authorities. But this, in fact, is no solution at all; this is evasion.

If the problem had been merely to see that a crime was punished, the assassin could have been turned over to the police at the start. What the doctor never sees (and I think we may assume that the authors of the film never see it either) is that his need is not to avenge the crime of another but to expiate a sin of his own.

On the distant Christmas eve when the unoffending villagers were cut down by machine guns, the doctor had protested—but he had done no more. The memory that really haunts him is not of his captain trimming a little tree as his victims die, but of himself crushing a tinsel star as he watches them crumple against a wall. The moral issue, on a larger scale, is not that some Germans were sadistic murderers but that no Germans put a curb to that bestiality. Karl Jaspers of Heidelberg has said "The proof of our guilt is that we are alive," but the Germans at large still seek a scapegoat.

Outside this central issue, "Murderers Among Us" illustrates other facets of the Teutonic personality. The doctor is a disturbing character to offer as a hero in post-Hitler Germany. He quite literally screams with self pity, he exhibits the wildly fluctuating moods of a manic depressive, he is moved by the most maudlin sentiment and exhibits an adolescent form of cynical heroics. In the end he is rehabilitated by the love of a courageous girl, but the transformation hardly looks like a cure. The film has been shown throughout the four zones of Germany, presumably on the theory that German audiences should be told that it is wrong to massacre civilians and that men who did such things must be made to admit their error. This implied acceptance of the film's moral is the most alarming fact of all.

On the technical level, "Murderers Among Us" is "heavy" German filmmaking. The backgrounds are theatrically lighted, transitions are made for shocking or ironic effect, the actors are extravagant types. The producers are fascinated by brooding shadows, by symbolism, by the macabre possibilities of clowns. Their approach makes the film seem old-fashioned, but that is not their fault. It is unlikely that any of them have been near a studio in the past 10 years. Their fault lies, not in the rustiness of their craft, but in the softness and confusion of their minds.

ROBERT HATCH

HENRY A. WALLACE, American Communists, and U. S.—Soviet Relations

¶ This is the central subject of the latest pamphlet in Louis Adamic's TRENDS & TIDES (T&T) Series —35,000 words—*just out*, but already discussed the country over.

¶ What—who—induced Wallace to run in '48? Is he anyone's dupe, or his own man and a special kind of patriot? Wherein is his strength? Why the terrific propaganda blasts against him? What enables him to endure them?

¶ Is the Marshall Plan "the great swindle" (as Glen Taylor calls it) which the Wall St. bankers now in charge of the U. S. Government put over with the aid of Soviet opposition to it in order to weaken America before the next war breaks out?

¶ Has the emergence of Wallace merely postponed World War III? Is another war still "inevitable"?

¶ What about Communism and the Communists? Is their support of Wallace "a kiss of death"?

The pamphlet is 50¢ a copy; 3 copies for $1; 8 for $2. You will want copies for your friends and others. Send remittance with all orders to:

LOUIS ADAMIC, Milford, New Jersey

BOOK CLUB

LIBERTY BOOK CLUB, Sept. Selection: "The Big Yankee" by Michael Blankfort—Brilliant biography of Gen. Carlson of Carlson's Marine Raiders. Regular $4 edition for $1.20 (plus 15¢ postage and handling) to club members. For complete information write: Dept. R, Liberty Book Club, 220 W. 42nd St., N. Y. 18, N. Y.

PUBLIC QUESTION

CHURCH AND STATE MUST STAY SEPARATE P.O.A.U.

WOULD YOU

End the Ambassadorhip to the Vatican?

Repeal State laws aiding church schools?

Join with Protestants and other Americans?

941 Colorado Bldg., Washington 5, D. C.

Write P. O. A. U. Today

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

WRITERS

Conscientious sales service for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Send for FREE circular —today!

DANIEL S. MEAD LITERARY AGENCY
Dept. N.R., 264 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

TREASURE HUNTER?

A postcard will bring you a guide to the maximum of vacation enjoyment. Modern accommodations, splendid cuisine, complete sports facilities (tennis, swimming, riding, archery, baseball, badminton, etc.), dancing and a complete entertainment staff await you at attractive rates. Easy to reach by bus, train or door-to-door taxi service. For a wonderful vacation, make an early reservation at

CHESTERS ZUNBARG

WOODBOURNE, N. Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150

THE WOODLANDS
AN ADULT RESORT
PHOENICIA, NEW YORK

FOR THE SPIRITED: hiking, swimming, tennis, handball, volley ball, trout fishing, badminton, archery, folk dancing, good eating.

FOR THE LAZYBONES: handicrafts, Art Classes with Zenk, sound movies, modern book and record library, open fireplace, good eating.

Rates: $47.50 and $50.00 weekly
• Telephone: Phoenicia 215 • Siggie Goldner •

plum point
vacation fun year round
on the majestic Hudson
• seasonal sports
• delicious food
• gay informality
85 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270

THE FIELDSTONE
On Round Island Lake
√ HANDBALL • BICYCLES • PING PONG
√ TENNIS • fast clay courts
√ SWIMMING • BOATING • on natural lake
SO . . . MAKE A DATE
PHONE 7965 MONROE, N. Y.

OPEN ALL YEAR OPEN ALL YEAR
Terrace View House
Catskill Mts. SO. DURHAM, N. Y. Altl. 2400 ft.
Viennese-American cuisine. Running water, beautiful view, all sports. Pollen-free area.
July & August: $40 to $45 weekly
LABOR DAY, 3 DAYS, $21
Dial Cairo 3-F-14 • Ask for Booklets

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
A modern resort of distinction. All outdoor activities. Tennis. Golf. Bicycles. Mile-long lake. All water sports. Fine fishing. Varied indoor program. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Television. Superb library of books and recordings. Moderate rates.

CORRESPONDENCE

No Plot

SIR: Helen Fuller's otherwise dispassionate report on the Progressive Party Convention [the *NR*, August 2] repeats one particular myth that should be scotched once and for all.

She writes that "the Progressives . . . have no choice but to challenge and defeat as many incumbents, liberal or otherwise, as they can" and that the Progressives "must cut the throats of non-Progressives wherever they appear exposed."

This is simply not true. We have grown accustomed to see the ADA type of so-called liberal willfully spreading this sort of nonsense, but we are surprised to see it repeated in the *New Republic*.

Usual procedure is to cite the Paul Douglas case in Illinois, then to mumble horrendously that the Progressive Party movement is all a Communist plot to rid Congress of every member who voted for the Marshall Plan.

Let's get down to facts. Perhaps the best example is the congressional race in New York City. New York has some fine congressmen. The American Labor Party, Wallace's political arm in New York, has already endorsed Representatives Celler, Delaney, Pfeifer, Powell and Klein, some of whom, if you'll pardon the obvious, supported the Marshall Plan but had excellent over-all records otherwise. The ALP has also endorsed two additional Democratic candidates, Paul O'Dwyer and Frank Serri.

But the so-called Liberal Party, New York's appendage of the ADA, has made the fantastic statement that it will refuse to endorse any Democratic candidate supported by the ALP. On July 28, the New York *Times* carried a list of Liberal Party candidates. There were no endorsements of any of the above liberal Democrats. Who's cutting whose throats?

Furthermore, in the Bronx, the Liberal Party has joined forces with the Democrats and Republicans, in a real demonstration of sordid bipartisanship at its worst, to back single coalition hacks against Representative Isacson and other ALP candidates.

The complete congressional picture isn't clear yet. Many states have not yet selected candidates. Others may withdraw some of those already nominated, depending upon the Democratic choice. In any case, as Wallace has expressed it, "unity may require accommodation by both sides and I am sure that our state organizations will be prepared to make it, provided there is no sacrifice of basic principles."

If New York is typical, then it's high time the *New Republic* and other liberal organizations wake up to the fact that Progressive forces are making accommodation, while the other so-called liberal forces are making none whatsoever.

One final point. We will make good on our prophecy that as a result of the Wallace-Taylor candidacy and the organization of the new party, many progressive congressmen will be elected who would otherwise have no chance.

C. B. BALDWIN
Campaign Manager,
New York City Progressive Party

SIR: Mr. Baldwin's statement that in some states the Progressives "may withdraw some of those [congressional candidates] already nominated, depending upon the Democratic choice," is most encouraging news. Wallace's own earlier expression of a desire to be accommodating held out a promise of Progressive support for liberal candidates, whatever their party brand. But since then, in states where party slates have been completed, coöperation has not been evident.

The American Labor Party has endorsed six Democratic candidates for Congress in New York. But it is also actively opposing nine Democrats and one Republican who have much-better-than-average records on the *New Republic's* most recent voting chart. In at least two of these races, the incumbent is likely to be defeated because Progressive Party candidates are in the race (Democrats Sol Bloom, in the 20th District and Abraham Multer, in the 14th). The Wallace party cannot explain away its own actions by arguing that the Liberal Party is guilty of even more irresponsible congressional endorsements.

Even if the Progressive Party should now decide that it is morally bound to withdraw many of its candidates, election laws in some states would prevent it. In California, where five liberal Democratic nominees for Congress are in grave danger of losing to reactionary Republicans, the Independent Progressive Party now cannot, under the law, withdraw its candidates. Representatives Frank Havenner (4th District), Helen Gahagan Douglas (14th District), Chet Holifield (19th District), former Representative Clyde Doyle (18th District), and Clinton McKinnon, the Democratic contender from the 23rd District seat, are caught in the cross fire between the Progressives and the Republicans.

If Mr. Baldwin is in earnest, there

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

MAUD'S
SUMMER-RAY
Maud and Rom, Mgt.
North Branch 6, Sullivan County, N. Y.
Telephone: Callicoon 95 or 148
NEWLY BUILT SWIMMING POOL
(With Overhead Solarium)
ORCHESTRA, ENTERTAINMENT, BAR.
DRAMA, TENNIS, ALL SPORTS
Folk Dancing • Group Singing • Lectures
Call City Office: SPring 7-8574

MERRIEWOODE
A Camp for Adults Stoddard, N. H.
FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake. 10 miles long with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping-pong, square and folk dancing.
OLIVE H. G. BARON, Dir.

SACKS FARM
SAUGERTIES, N.Y.
Tel. 590-J
Real Country. Unusual Grounds. Pine woods. Interesting hiking. Modern, attractive accommodations. All sports, including horseback and bicycling. Finest food. Music library. Fair rates. Booklet.

Green Acres
LODGE
CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.
Swimming Pool • Golf • Tennis • Television
Unexcelled Music and Book Library
An Adult Resort 45 Miles from New York City
Telephone: HIGHLAND MILLS 3071

DIFFERENT FROM THE REST
COME SEE FOR YOURSELF
Accommodates 55 • 29th Season
Rates: $12 a day, $70 a week
TED OHMER'S WESTERN VIEW FARM
New Milford, Connecticut Tel.: New Milford 440

VERMONT VACATION
SMOKESHIRE WAY: 5½ hrs from N. Y. A never-to-be-forgotten vacation in the friendly Green Mts., 2000 feet altitude. Lovely Colonial home and new bungalows. Stately pines, majestic maples, graceful elms. Swimming, sports, records and books. $48-$52 week. Folder. R. F. D. No. 1, CHESTER DEPOT.

friendly acres
for informal hospitality lovely old house in the Poconos; good food, good books and music; all sports except tennis. For adults. Reasonable rates. Write: RD 1, East Stroudsburg, Pa. Bushkill 18 R-11.

is still time, in Pennsylvania, Illinois, New Jersey and Washington, to withdraw Progressive Party candidates filed against excellent Democratic candidates.
Washington, D. C. HELEN FULLER

BANDWAGON

Let-Down

The Henry Wallace acceptance speech and platform are a big disappointment. Most everyone was expecting something really radical. – *From David Lawrence's column.*

Little Joe

Commenting on the raid, [Police Commissioner] Johnston said, "We were not just knocking over a Negro dice table, we were hunting Communist agitators." – *From the Galveston, Texas,* Daily News.

Hold That Line

Today's increase did not remove General Motors from the keen competition in the "low-priced" field. Even with a rise of eight percent the price of the lowest-priced Chevrolet still was $3 less than the cheapest Ford. – *UP dispatch from Detroit.*

Paradise Regained

The Rutherford Board of Education announced today that it had rescinded its two-week-old order banning the sixth-grade social studies textbook, "Our Southern Neighbors," by a vote of 5 to 3. . . .

The ban was enforced originally because the chapter on Uruguay in the textbook allegedly referred to the socialist government in that country as "Utopian." – *From the New York* Times.

If the Shoe Fits . . .

UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE PLANS TO CONTINUE SUBVERSIVE HEARINGS – *Headline in the Oakland* Tribune.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

RESORTS

Crystal Lake
LODGE
CHESTERTOWN, NEW YORK
Modern Adult Camp in the Adirondacks
RESERVE NOW FOR SEPTEMBER
Limited number of vacancies in men's accommodations only.
All women accommodations filled till Sept. 6.
• Full Social Staff •
• All Sports • Cocktail Lounge
• Saddle Horses • Orchestra
Chestertown 3830 City Info.: TIvoli 2-5572

SCHROON CREST
IN THE ADIRONDACKS
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
INFORMAL ADULT CAMP
on 10-MILE SCHROON LAKE
Sports All Water Activities; Baseball; Handball; Bicycling; Saddle Horses; Completely Equipped Indoor Game Room; etc.
5 CHAMPIONSHIP CLAY TENNIS COURTS
(Tennis Pro)
Social Activities BOB ADLER & STAFF; AL SHEER & Orchestra
Big Weekly Variety Shows; Popular and Folk Dancing; Concerts; Recordings; etc.
Excellent Food: Buffet Lunches at Lakefront; Cozy Bar.
Send for Illustrated Booklet Phone: Chestertown 2830
New York City Office: Phone: MAin 4-8570—MAin 4-1230
LEAH OKUN, Director

Nobody Comes to Windy Hill—
to dress up, to be entertained, for over-populated quarters, for stingy portions.
• There are: quoits, horse-shoes, badminton, volley ball, ping-pong, darts, croquet, softball, a two-mile lake for boating, swimming, fishing—if you choose.
• There are books, records, friendly people, movies once a week—if you choose.
• So, if you please, reserve now for a relaxing and pleasant vacation.
OPEN ALL YEAR
Rates: $45 65 miles from N. Y. C.
Jane C. Arenz • R. D. No. 1 • Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 346-J-2

Deuel Hollow House
WINGDALE, N. Y. Phone 3691
In Berkshire foothills, 75 miles from N. Y. City on N. Y. Central R. R. Off beaten path, delightful hiking country. Delicious food served on terrace overlooking our private lake. Tennis, volleyball, badminton, boating, swimming and fishing.
Complete Informality—Adults
RAIZEL COHEN DAVID SACKS

VINEYARD LODGE
Modern comforts in quaint Dutch Colonial setting. Woodland trails, bicycling, library, recordings, fireplace, swimming, American-Jewish cuisine. Adults only.
Phone Kingston 3430 Ulster Park, N. Y

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You Get a Bigger Telephone Package Than Ever Before

WHEN you buy telephone service you buy a great big package of convenience, safety, happiness and achievement all wrapped into one. More minutes in the day. More things done, more easily.

You buy contacts with people — a quick, dependable, economical way of keeping in touch with almost everybody, everywhere.

You now get a bigger package than ever because there are more telephones than ever.

In the three years since the war, we've added nearly 9,000,000 new Bell telephones — an increase of 40%.

Many of these new telephones are right in your city, town or neighborhood. They are friends, relatives, neighbors, doctors, nurses, stores, offices: a larger world within your reach. The value of your own telephone has increased because you can call so many more people — and so many more can call you.

It's a big package, this telephone package, and it keeps on getting bigger day by day.

BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED